

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS
THREE TREATISES ON
IMPERIAL MILITARY EXPEDITIONS

INTRODUCTION, EDITION, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

BY

JOHN F. HALDON



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INTRODUCTIONE INSTRUXIT, EDIDIT,
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SERIES VINDOBONENSIS

EDIDIT

HERIBERTUS HUNGER

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VORWORT DES HERAUSGEBERS

Mit dem vorliegenden Buch ist ein erster Schritt zur Erfüllung eines alten Desiderats der internationalen Byzantinistik getan, nämlich der kritischen Edition und Kommentierung des Zeremonienbuchs Kaiser Konstantins VII. J. F. Haldon, Byzantinist aus britischer Schule, der auch in den Publikationen der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften bereits vor Jahren mit einer militärhistorischen byzantinistischen Studie aufschien, hat die bisher unter dem konventionellen Titel Appendix I (des Zeremonienbuchs) laufende Partie untersucht und dabei eine wichtige Feststellung gemacht: Diese „Appendix“ besteht aus drei ursprünglich unabhängigen Texten, die in der Überlieferung mehr oder weniger zufällig zusammenfanden und heute noch in dem Cod. Lipsiensis Rep. I 17 und (zum Teil) in der „Taktikerhandschrift“ Laurentianus 55, 4 erhalten sind.

Haldon hat frühzeitig den Kontakt mit Wien gesucht, da Otto Kresten bereits seit Jahren den Plan angemeldet hatte, das Zeremonienbuch nach gründlicher Überprüfung der Überlieferungsverhältnisse kommentiert herauszugeben. So ergab sich bald eine erfreuliche und fruchtbare Kooperation, an der sich der Unterzeichnete im Hinblick auf die Textgestaltung ebenfalls beteiligen konnte. Als Herausgeber der *Series Vindobonensis* des *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* kann ich den besonderen Dank meinem ehemaligen Schüler und treuen Freund Otto Kresten aussprechen, der die Einrichtung und Betreuung dieser Publikation für den Druck bereitwillig übernommen und mit gewohnter Akribie durchgeführt hat. Mein Dank gilt aber ebenso Herrn Kollegen Haldon für die gute Zusammenarbeit und für seine vorzügliche byzantinistische Leistung. Dieser Dank verbindet sich mit dem aufrichtigen Wunsch für eine glückliche Fortsetzung der begonnenen Studien.

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Herbert Hunger

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Birmingham, May 1987

John F. Haldon

COLLECTIONS AND PERIODICALS CITED IN ABBREVIATION

- BCH* *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*. Paris 1877ff.
- BMGS* *Byzantine & Modern Greek Studies*. Oxford 1975—1983; Birmingham 1984ff.
- BSI* *Byzantinoslavica*. Prague 1929ff.
- Byz* *Byzantion*. Bruxelles (Paris) 1924ff.
- BZ* *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. [Leipzig] München 1892ff.
- CFHB* *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
- CSHB* *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. [Cambridge, Mass.] Washington D.C. 1941ff.
- ΕΕΒΣ* Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν. Athens 1924ff.
- EHR* *English Historical Review*. London 1885ff.
- GRBS* *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* (1: *Greek and Byzantine Studies*). [San Antonio] [Univ./Miss.—Cambridge, Mass.] Durham 1958ff.
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. London 1880ff.
- JÖB* *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*. Wien 1969ff.
- JThS* *Journal of Theological Studies*. London 1899ff.
- MGH (AA)* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Auctores Antiquissimi)*, edd. G. PERTZ, TH. MOMMSEN et al. Berlin 1877—1919
- OCP* *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*. Roma 1935ff.
- PG* *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeco-latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris 1857—1866; 1880—1903
- RB* *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, ed. P. WIRTH. Amsterdam 1968ff.
- RbK III* *Reallexikon der byzantinischen Kunst III*, edd. K. WESSEL-M. RESTLE. Stuttgart 1978
- RE* *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, neue Bearbeitung, ed. G. WISSOWA. Stuttgart 1893ff.: I/1 (1893)—XXIII/2 (1959; with index of addns.); XXIV (1963); I/A1 (1914)—X A (1972); Suppl. I (1903)—XIV (1974)
- REB* *Revue des Études Byzantines* (1—3: *Études Byzantines*). [Bucarest] Paris 1944ff.
- REG* *Revue des Études Grecques*. Paris 1888ff.
- SbB* *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*
- SBN* *Studi Bizantini* (1—2) e *Neoellenici* (3—10). Roma 1925ff. (cont. as *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*)

- SbWien* *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*
- TM* *Travaux et Mémoires. Paris 1965ff.*
- ZRVI* *Zbornik Radova (1—6: Vizantološki Institut, kn. 1—6 = Srpska Akademija Nauka, Zbornik Radova, kn. 21, 36, 44, 49, 59, 65) Vizantološkog Instituta (from 7 [1961]). Belgrade 1952ff.*

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. THE NATURE OF THE TEXTS

The three texts which J. B. Bury referred to under the title *Περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων*, and which were published by J. J. Reiske as an Appendix to Book I of his edition of the *De caerimoniis* of Constantine VII, have long been recognised as constituting the elements of a treatise or treatises separate from the main body of material in Books I and II of this tenth-century compilation¹. As is also well-known, the three texts actually preface the main body of the *De caerimoniis* in the Leipzig codex, Lipsiensis Rep. I 17 (saec. X)², occupying fols. 1^r—21^r. Reiske's reasons for incorporating them as an appendix to Book I are unclear: they clearly did not fit in with the main body of Book I and formed an unsuitable preface; but they might have been far better suited as an appendix to Book II, which is much more heterogeneous and contains a variety of documents which bear even less relevance to a treatise on court ceremonial than those with which we are here concerned³.

The three sections are as follows: 'Υπόθεσις τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων καὶ ὑπόμνησις τῶν ἀπλήκτων (Lips. fol. 1^r, lines 1—17; Bonn edn. 444, 1—445, 11), which consists of a short list of thematic *aplēkta*, or marching camps; followed by a garbled list of illustrations drawn from actual examples, hereafter (A); "Όσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν βασιλέως μέλλοντος ταξειδεῦειν (Lips. fol. 1^r—4^r; Bonn edn. 445, 12—454, 14), a brief treatise on the preparations for and organisation of an imperial expedition, hereafter (B); and "Όσα δεῖ γίνεσθαι τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὑψηλοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων μέλλοντος φοσσατεῦσαι (Lips. fol. 4^v—21^r; Bonn edn. 455, 1—508, 5), a longer and much more heterogeneous treatise on the same subject as (B), hereafter (C).

¹ See BURY, Ceremonial Book 438—439; and VOGT, Cér. Comm. I, pp. XVIII—XIX.

² The manuscript has been variously dated from the tenth to the thirteenth century. See I. ROCHOW, Bemerkungen zu der Leipziger Handschrift des Zeremonienbuches des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos und zu der Ausgabe von J. J. Reiske. *Klio* 58 (1976) 193—197; VOGT, Cér. Comm. I, introd.

³ See BURY's summary of the composition and contents of Book II, Ceremonial Book 223—227; and REISKE's own comments in the preface to Book I, pp. XXV—XXVI.

B. THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITION

The only edition hitherto is that produced by Leich and Reiske and published as the Appendix to Book I of the *De caerimoniis* in 1751—1754⁴. Since that time, a part of (B) has been noted in cod. Mediceo-Laur. Plut. 55, 4 (saec. X), fols. 1^r/2^r, corresponding to pp. 449—454 in the Bonn edition (see below). The other manuscripts from which the *De caerimoniis* is known, cod. Chalc. S. Trinitatis (125) 133⁵ and cod. Vatoped. 1003⁶ contain, as far as can be ascertained, no fragments from any of (A), (B) or (C). Thus the Lipsiensis and the Laurentianus are the only witnesses to (B), although four pages (two folios) of the Laurentianus are missing at the very beginning (not an unusual feature of this codex, of which the opening folios of several works have been removed)⁷, which will have contained the first part of (B) (see below). Otherwise the Lipsiensis remains the unique witness to (A), most of (B) and all of (C).

⁴ On the history of the edition see ROCHOW, art. cit., and the introduction of REISKE and LEICH, Book I, pp. XIIIff.; and see J. IRMSCHER, Johann Jakob Reiske als Pädagoge des frühen Neuhumanismus. *Klio* 58 (1976) 187—191; and G. STROHMAIER, Johann Jacob Reiske — Byzantinist und Arabist der Aufklärung. *Klio* 58 (1976) 199—209; and VOGT, Cér. I, introd.

⁵ See C. MANGO-I. ŠEVČENKO, A New Manuscript of the De Cerimoniis. *DOP* 14 (1960) 247—249.

⁶ Prof. O. Kresten informs me that the palimpsest folios from the Vatopedi and the Chalki manuscripts make up a single codex of the *De caerimoniis*, including the Klētorologion of Philotheos. The condition of both palimpsests makes a reading of the text contained in them extremely difficult, however, as noted by MANGO-ŠEVČENKO, art. cit., and OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 72—73. The Vatopedi manuscript was discovered by Prof. Wolfgang Waldstein (Universität Salzburg, Institut für Römisches Recht), but it is to Prof. Kresten that its identity as part of a single codex with cod. Chalc. S. Trinitatis (125) 133, containing a second copy of the *De caerimoniis*, is due.

⁷ A. DAIN, Les stratégistes byzantins. *TM* 2 (1967) 317—392, see 383.

COD. LIPSIENSIS REP. I 17 (BIBL. URB. 28) = L

Written on good quality parchment, with 32 lines to a page, and large format: 32,5 × 23,5 cm. On quaternions, with a few exceptions, and by a single hand. The text was produced in an imperial scriptorium, and in its final form before the end of the reign of Nicephorus II (969), and after 963. On codicological and palaeographical grounds Irigoín has placed the codex at this time also⁸ and pointed out that in its construction, format and the arrangement and nature of its contents, it is closely related to four other manuscripts of the same period, almost certainly produced in an imperial scriptorium: cod. Turon. 980 and cod. Vat. gr. 73 (containing the *Excerpta Constantiniana*); cod. Mediceo-Laur. Plut. 55, 4 (see below) and cod. Ambros. B 119 supp., dated to 959—963; both of the latter two

⁸ See REISKE's preface (extract from FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Graeca*), p. LXXIII; and M. RICHARD, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues des manuscrits grecs*. Paris ²1958, 131, no. 482; I am grateful to Dr. W. Brandes of the Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR for obtaining the exact measurements of the manuscript. See also J. IRIGOÍN, *Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins*. *Scriptorium* 12 (1958) 208—227; 13 (1959) 177—209, see 178—179, whose dating, on the basis of a careful and convincing codicological analysis, is to be preferred. See also BURY, *Ceremonial Book* 211—212, 217—221 and summary on 227; also J. IRIGOÍN, in: *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études*, IV^e Section (1968/1969) 137 ff.; but note also the comments of B. HEMMERDINGER, *Les réglures des manuscrits du scribe Ephrem*. *BZ* 56 (1963) 24; and LEMERLE, *Premier humanisme* 292—293; HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* I 244. O. Kresten will shortly be publishing a study of the manuscript tradition of the *De caerimoniis*, in which he shows that the Leipzig manuscript certainly, and the Vatopedi manuscript probably, were produced in an imperial scriptorium in the period 963—969 under the supervision and orders of the *parakoimōmenos* Basil; although, until a more detailed codicological and palaeographical analysis of the Vatopedi manuscript has been carried out, a date for this codex of c. A. D. 1000 cannot be excluded. I am most grateful to Prof. Kresten for putting the results of his work at my disposal prior to their publication. Basil's participation in a successful expedition in 958 and his subsequent triumph in Constantinople (see MARKOPOULOS, *Témoignage* 107; W. G. BROKKAAR, *Basil Lacapenus. Byzantium in the tenth century*, in: *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica*, eds. W. F. BAKKER—A. F. VAN GEMERT—W. J. AERTS [*Byzantina Neerlandica* 3]. Leiden 1972, 199—234, see 214) may have stimulated his interest in the subject matter of these three texts and indeed encouraged him to incorporate them into the Leipzig manuscript.

contain strategical and tactical treatises of ancient and Byzantine authors⁹. The five are clearly a product of the encyclopaedic collection of Constantine VII, although the Lipsiensis and the last two were produced at different times, the Laurentianus (M) being probably the earliest¹⁰.

COD. MEDICEO-LAURENTIANUS PLUT. 55, 4 = M

Written on good-quality parchment, with 32 lines to a page, and large format: 32,5 × 26 cm. On quaternions, with some exceptions, and by a single hand. A number of folios are missing, a result possibly of the fact that they bore both titles and illustrations or illustrated headings to works, and were hence removed by a collector. Bandini listed three pages (fols. 1^r—2^r) containing text (B), equivalent to Bonn edn. 449, 3—the end; Müller reported the same; and he was followed by Vogt¹¹, Mango and Ševčenko¹² and Dain¹³. Fol. 2^v contains the “military oath”, *Iuramentum fidelitatis officiorum erga imperatorem*, written in a later hand, probably of the 15th or 16th century¹⁴. This means that there must originally have been three pages preceding 1^r, in order to complete the missing first part of (B), as well as a fourth outer page bearing titles and headings. It is generally accepted that the codex was compiled in an imperial scriptorium around the middle of the tenth century; as

⁹ IRIGOIN, art. cit. 178—179; C. M. MAZZUCCHI, *Dagli anni di Basilio Parakimomenos (Cod. Ambr. B 119 Sup.)*. *Aevum* 52 (1978) 267—316; DAIN, *Stratégistes* 382, 385; IDEM, *Histoire du texte d'Élien le tacticien*. Paris 1946, 185; DENNIS, *Strategikon* 19—22.

¹⁰ See A. DAIN, *L'encyclopédisme de Constantin Porphyrogénète*. *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, IV^e sér. 1954, n^o 4 (= *Lettres d'humanité XIII*), 64—81; L. COHN, *Bemerkungen zu den Konstantinischen Sammelwerken*. *BZ* 9 (1900) 158—160; P. SCHREINER, *Die Historikerhandschrift Vaticanus Graecus 977: ein Handexemplar zur Vorbereitung des konstantinischen Exzerptenwerkes?* *JÖB* 37 (1987) 1—29; and also HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* I 360—367; II 334f.; MAZZUCCHI, art. cit. 279ff.; MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica* I 358ff.; LEMERLE, *Premier humanisme* 267—300, esp. 271ff., 292—293; and C. M. MAZZUCCHI, *Alcune vicende della tradizione di Cassio Dione in epoca Bizantina*. *Aevum* 53 (1979) 94—139, see 131ff.

¹¹ VOGT, *Cér.* I, p. VII and n. 1.

¹² MANGO-ŠEVČENKO, art. cit. 247 and n. 3.

¹³ DAIN, *Stratégistes* 383 (and see 361).

¹⁴ See Chr. BAUR, *Initia patrum graecorum* II (*Studi e Testi* 181). Vatican City 1955, 145 s. v. “Ὀμνυμι ἐγὼ κτλ.

Irigoin has shown, it is closely related to other manuscripts of the same scriptorium; and as I will suggest below, it must have been compiled before the Lipsiensis (i. e. before 963) and was probably written before c. 955¹⁵.

¹⁵ See BANDINI, *Catalogus* 218—238, esp. 218—219, 235; and for a detailed discussion, MÜLLER, *Ein griechisches Fragment* 106ff.; DAIN, *Élien le tacticien* (cited n. 9 above) 183—186; IDEM, *Énée le tacticien* XXXI—XXXII; XL—XLI; IDEM, *Les stratégistes byzantins* 382—385; IRIGOIN, art. cit. 178—180; DENNIS, *Strategikon* 19—20, for literature and description. Note also HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* I 243, n. 3; II 334. M never seems to have contained any of the *De caerimoniis* proper, however, only this section of (B) (pace MANGO-ŠEVČENKO, art. cit. 247 and n. 1), as will become clear from the analysis below.

C. THE RELATIONSHIP OF TEXT (B) TO TEXT (C)

Bury considered that (A) and (B) were originally intended to be part of the same text, (C), into which they had not been properly incorporated¹⁶. As will be seen, this is not strictly correct. For while information from (A) appears nowhere in (C), the main text of (C) itself appears to be quite systematically based upon (B), both in terms of the sequence of details and in respect of the specific material employed. This correspondence can be summarised as follows (references are to line numbers of the present edition):

(B) 46—57 — The time and the objective of the expedition are determined by the emperor; the *sakellarios*, *prōtovesiarios*, *minsouratōr* and *domestikos tēs hypourgias* are ordered to calculate the requirements for pack-animals; the figures are then passed on to the *logothetēs* of the herds and the *komēs* of the stable, who are responsible for providing the animals = (C) 54—135; with 136—311 listing in greater detail the equipment taken by the various departments of the imperial household or government.

(B) 80—91 — Julius Caesar used to observe these ordinances; and then send ahead his retinue, to meet him at the point where the *tagmata* awaited him. He then prayed in a variety of churches for the success of the expedition, distributed alms, and embarked, blessing the City with the sign of the cross three times from his ship = (C) 312—331.

(B) 107—115 — The order of march of the imperial column = (C) 474—496.

(B) 116—121 — Procedures for marching within Roman territory; the role of the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* = (C) 420—500.

(B) 122—133 — Reception by the *themata* of the emperor at the various *aplēkta* (see also [B] 92—100) = (C) 443—473.

(B) 128—133 — Personnel and baggage not necessary to expedition to be left behind in safe (Roman) territory = (C) 512—523.

¹⁶ BURY, art. cit. 439.

(B) 135—150 — Order and organisation of vanguard, flankguards, rearguard and role of *themata* = (C) 561—569.

As can be seen, while the order of (C) does not always follow that of (B) absolutely, it is generally extremely close, only obscured by the considerable amount of detail into which (C) goes, as well as a series of repetitions: for example, the lists of equipment to be carried by the *eidikos* and *sakellarios* (at both [C] 266—274 and 302—308). Thus (B) clearly provides the basic agenda for (C). From 607, however, (C) adds material not referred to in (B), prefaced, significantly, by a short address to the emperor's son, Romanos. This material includes the list of beacons used to warn of impending attacks, followed by the story of Michael III's ordering them to be shut down. From 54 to 606, (C) is therefore a greatly extended version of the greater part of (B); while the two addresses to Romanos at (C) 8—53 and 607—617 have been added by Constantine VII himself, and serve as parentheses to distinguish this section from other elements, incorporated from sources other than (B), into (C). These elements will be discussed at greater length below (see section E).

Not everything in (B) appears in an extended form in (C), however. All the details listed at (B) 3—33 and in particular those at 58—79, on the duties of the *ek prosōpou* of the emperor, are omitted. Did the original editor intend to include these details too? Or did he decide merely to incorporate (B) in his final treatise as a sort of detailed preface, leaving such details in the text? In view of the way in which (C) duplicates and extends much of (B), the second suggestion seems most unlikely. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the first, major section of text (C), prefaced and followed by Constantine's own words to his son Romanos, is an enlarged and expanded version of (B), omitting a few elements of the latter. Since Constantine is quite emphatic in stating that he had no other treatise on expeditions at his disposal except that of Leo Katakylas, the conclusion that (B) represents this treatise of Katakylas, discovered by the emperor himself in the monastery of Sigrianē, becomes unavoidable¹⁷. That Constantine emphasises the

¹⁷ The idea is itself not new: see CAMERON, *Circus Factions* 112 and n. 3. Neither DAIN, *Stratégistes* 361, nor LEMERLE, *Premier humanisme* 273, n. 27, regarded (B) as the work of Constantine himself; but neither do they seem to

fact that he greatly extended this treatise, which was not even equal to a third of that which he himself prepared, and that he clearly based his own compilation on that of Leo, would add support to this hypothesis. For what it is worth, the main section of (C), shorn of Constantine's preface and the additions of 607—884 numbers some 21 pages (fols. 5^v—15^v) as opposed to 7 pages (1^r—4^r) for (B). There are other signs, however, that (B) is a separate work from (C), and compiled by a different author. In the first place, the references to Constantine the Great and to Julius Caesar in (B) at 3 and 80—81 are quite explicitly contradicted in (C), at 47—50, where Constantine VII insists that by "older" emperors he does not mean Constantine I or indeed Constantius or Julian or Theodosius, but rather the Isaurian rulers (46—47). Surely if he had edited the text of (B) or had it prepared for incorporation, he would have excised these references or emended the text in some other way in the process?

In the second place, the reference to Julius Caesar, if not that to Constantine I, does seem to hint at a certain lack of learning or knowledge about earlier affairs, at least in Constantine's eyes; it may in fact be a deliberate disguise for the names of Isaurian emperors — Leo III, Constantine V, Leo IV or Constantine VI — of course, demanded by the piety of Katakylas or the original compiler as emphasised by Constantine ([C] 31—33, 34—35); in which case, of course, Leo (or the anonymous compiler) must himself have had written sources at his disposal. It certainly excludes the possibility of Constantine himself being the author, since he is clearly not averse to admitting the role played by these impious rulers (see above). At any rate, deliberate artifice on Leo's part, or the result of straightforward ignorance, Constantine VII took it as evidence of the latter, and made clear his own more "historical" approach at (C) 35—53. Constantine's comment, and the evidence of (B) represents a version of the original text discovered by Constantine, and upon which he eventually based his own compilation, (C).

Thirdly, (B) demonstrates none of the typical stylistic elements of Constantine's work as an editor: in particular, the introductory or parenthetic *ιστέον ὅτι* (or *χρὴ εἰδέναι*) used to link disparate items

have considered the possibility that it might represent the treatise of Leo Katakylas.

or to introduce or emphasise details in an otherwise continuous narrative¹⁸. Such editorial interventions occur throughout (C), and the abbreviated $\delta\tau\iota$ throughout (A): see, for example, (C) 155, 164, 183, 202, 230, 237, 246, 255, 259, 300, 312, 421, 501, 512, 591, 618, 631, 639, 647, 793, 880 and the marginal scholia at 740, 750, 778. But they occur not once in (B). Only the heading may be Constantine's — and this would be typical of his editorial hand. I will return to this below. There are other, more general differences in style: (B) is altogether less carefully constructed than (C), and has more the form of a rapid précis of the general procedures involved; whereas (C) is both more repetitive and clearly draws on a mass of detailed material intended to provide a much more accurate and analytic description of the workings of the whole process, typical of Constantine's own style. (C) also contains information that would not be available to anyone working outside the palace bureaux and archives. Finally, the stylistic differences between the two versions of (B) in L and M, which will be discussed below, again suggest that (B) existed as a separate treatise.

In all these respects, (B) bears many similarities, in its unedited and unamended nature, to similarly unedited sections within the *De caerimoniis*¹⁹ and the *De administrando imperio*²⁰. As is now generally accepted, considerable sections of both these treatises contain material and documents which had no place in the compiler's original plans, but which were incorporated or added by a later redactor because they formed part of a dossier which included both the main body of material for incorporation, together with much of the annotated or unannotated source materials on which this was based. Indeed, the fact that (B) was still incorporated into the Lipsiensis, even though it duplicates (albeit in a more concise form)

¹⁸ See BURY, Ceremonial Book 223 and n. 4, 428; DAI Comm. 2.

¹⁹ BURY, Ceremonial Book 223ff., notably those sections classified by BURY on 227 under the heading (C), i. e. additions to the text not written or edited by Constantine VII. It is important to note, however, that the internal disposition of these sections owes more to the desires and organisational intentions of Basil the *parakoimōmenos*, under whose direction the Lipsiensis was prepared. O. Kresten will demonstrate this at greater length in the forthcoming study referred to in note 8 above.

²⁰ J. B. BURY, The treatise *De administrando imperio*. *BZ* 15 (1906) 517—577; see DAI Comm. 1—2.

much of the main section of (C), while Constantine omitted from (C) those elements of (B) which were not relevant to the actual organisation of the imperial expeditionary forces as such, is particularly significant: it reinforces the impression that (B) was not written by Constantine himself, and that it constitutes a separate treatise incorporated by the redactor into L. There is no reason to doubt that (B) was incorporated, along with (A) (see below, chapter F) because it happened to be filed along with (C) and the remaining material for the *De caerimoniis*.

D. THE STRUCTURE AND THE DATE OF TEXT (B) AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF L TO M

(B) falls into two sections: from 3—79, dealing with the emperor's researches in advance of an expedition, the preparations for the security of Constantinople and so on; and from 80—150, the end, dealing with procedures during the expedition itself, including some details of the emperor's departure from the City. In the first section, Constantine I is taken to be the emperor in question; in the second, Julius Caesar.

It is difficult to know whether we have the full text of this treatise. The heading: "Ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν βασιλέως μέλλοντος ταξιδεύειν is an accurate enough description of the first section; the second section can certainly be subsumed under it, but it may well be that the two sections, which deal with two different aspects of imperial expeditions, were themselves drawn from at least one, and possibly several, written sources at the editor's or author's disposal, and that the connecting headings and passages have been omitted. The basis for this suggestion lies both in the use of the names Julius Caesar and Constantine the Great (it seems unlikely that a late ninth-century general really believed that the procedures for imperial expeditions had actually been employed by either of these two); and in Constantine's assertion in (C) that the same *τάξις καὶ ἀκολουθία* had been followed from the time of the Isaurians and was still in force under Basil I²¹. How did Constantine know that the treatise he discovered at Sigrianē, upon which (C) is based, and which is represented here by (B), was compiled by Leo Katakylas, the *magistros*, and that this procedure was as old as the Isaurians? Presumably, Leo's treatise had a heading in which his name and titles appeared; there must also have been some reference, likewise omitted from the version represented in L, to the fact that Leo was

²¹ The phrase is typical of Constantine: see De Cer. 5, 14; 569, 18; and see text (C) 418—419.

writing at the behest of the emperor Leo VI²². Unless we are to assume that the treatise never had an introductory heading or title, but that it was nevertheless remembered as Leo Katakylas' work by the monks/librarians at Sigrianē — possibly for as long as thirty or forty years²³ —, this seems a reasonable assumption. An introductory section may itself have contained a reference to the Isaurians, although such information may well have been orally transmitted, as Constantine implies, (C) 20—21: ταύτην γὰρ (the expeditionary procedure of their forbears) πάλαι φημιζομένην καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν παρὰ πολλοῖς θρυλλουμένην μὴ καὶ ἐγγράφως ἔχειν, οὐ δίκαιον οὐδὲ καλὸν ἡγησάμεθα. At any rate, elements of (B), identifying it as the treatise of Leo Katakylas, are missing. Since, as I have argued, the text itself has not been edited in any significant respect by Constantine, the fact that it occurs independently in M suggests that it was available as a separate treatise in the forms witnessed by the Lipsiensis and the Laurentianus, and with the heading (in L at least) supplied either by Constantine or on his instructions, ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν. In other words, Constantine used a version of Leo Katakylas' treatise as the basis for much of his text (C); while a later redactor, in an effort to iron out any inconsistencies with regard to authorship, had this same version copied out into the Lipsiensis.

The sources for (B) cannot be identified with any certainty. But there are certain similarities with Leo's *Tactica*, notably the remarks on keeping up the spirit of the population of Constantinople by employing stratagems such as reading out false bulletins from the emperor or army (see [B] 77—79 and cf. Leo, *Tact.* XX 14; 16—19; 79) and on the deployment of vanguard, flank-guards and rearguard (see [B] 134—139 and cf. Leo, *Tact.* IV 25—28; IX 37; 38; 60; 61 etc.). But whether Leo's treatise, or a common source was

²² There may also have been some explicit reference to his piety, for according to Constantine ([C] 34—35) the work was imbued with Leo's godliness. But this seems to have been embodied in the general content of the text itself, since Constantine is careful to stress that Leo's piety, and that in his treatise, was demonstrated in his godly life — see (C) 31—32. The lack of such overt expression in the text is therefore not a sign that it has been re-written in any drastic way, an assumption which LEMERLE, *Premier humanisme* 274, seems to make.

²³ The greater part of Constantine's literary activity seems to have been during the 940s and 950s; but his collecting and editing work began much earlier, during the 920s and before he became sole ruler (from 944). See DAI *Comm.* 5ff.

used by both, is difficult to say — interest in and knowledge of much older *tactica* and *strategika* certainly increased during Leo's reign, and the remarks on maintaining morale through various deceptions occur already in a sixth-century treatise: cf. *Rhetorica militaris* XIX—XXII, for example. Note also the comments at 146—147 regarding the heavy duties of the (flank)guards (or rearguards in the version L) paralleled exactly, but in *extenso*, at Anon. *Vári* 52, 4sq. (Dennis 31, 5sq.), but not found in Leo, *Tact.*, and again suggesting a common and well-known source. Finally, note the remarkable similarity between (B)'s opening account of how to plan an expedition and keep it secret, and the hitherto unpublished chapter of the treatise of Nicephorus Uranus relevant to a similar subject (de Foucault 63, 1, and cf. our text 3—33, esp. 22—25). Nicephorus Uranus used both the *Praecepta* of Nicephorus II (sources uncertain) and the so-called *Corpus perditum*; and this latter may also have been employed by Leo Katakylas²⁴.

As we have seen, part of (B) appears also in M²⁵. Three points immediately deserve our attention: first, that in both L and in M (B) occupies the first folios; second, that in both cases the text of (B) ends with a clear indication of the completion of a section: in the case of L leaving a half-page blank (on which, under the last line, there is a decorative line drawn, beneath which the word *τέλος* has been added — both these features seem to be later additions); in the case of M with a decorative inverted pyramid constructed out of the last words of the text, thus:

χαρακωθέντες καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
ἀσφάλειαν ποιήσαντες διὰ
τοὺς νυκτοπολέμους,
ἀνεπαύοντο

Third, both versions are followed by a half-page (L, as already noted) or a full-page (M) blank²⁶. Dain concludes, I think quite

²⁴ See DE FOUCAULT's comments, with literature: Niceph. Uranus 281—283.

²⁵ See DAIN, *Stratégistes* 382ff., see 383; and 361. DAIN refers to the two texts together as the *Praecepta imperatoris*.

²⁶ Cf. BANDINI, *Catalogus* 218—219; MÜLLER, *Ein griechisches Fragment* 1—7; DAIN, *Stratégistes* 383.

correctly, that in the case of M this signifies its function as a prefatory piece. I see no reason to assume otherwise for L.

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The relationship between L and M seems fairly clear with regard to their chronology – M is older than L, if the conclusions of Kresten are correct, and if the date for M of c. 950 generally assumed is accepted. This is borne out by a number of interesting variations between the two versions of (B) in L and M. In the first place, there is some evidence of what appears to have been an attempt to alter the style of the version in L in a more atticising direction. This can be seen in the following comparison:

	L	M
70	ἐκ τῶν ἄκρων θεμάτων	ἐκ τὰ ἄκρα θέματα
99	κοπιᾶ	κοποῦται (κοπόω)
110	μετὰ σελλαρίων	μετὰ σελλάρια
118—119	τοὺς τῶν ποταμῶν πόρους	τοὺς πόρους τῶν ποταμῶν
130	τοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ ἀσθενεστερούς	τοὺς ἀσθενεστερούς τοῦ λαοῦ
144	τῆ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γῆ	τῆ γῆ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
145	λοιπῶν	ἄλλων

Note also that where M has Ionic (and pan-Hellenic) -σσ-, L substitutes Attic -ττ-, e. g. M ἡλασσον, ἐνήλασσον, L ἐνήλαττον (146, 147).

In the second place, the version in M seems to have been more detailed or more explicit (and stylistically less polished): cf. M καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πάντες ἴσως ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπιπτον, and contrast L, καταβάντες πάντες, ἐπὶ γῆς ἴσως ἐπιπτον (125); and see at 126—127, 130, 131—133.

Third, L misunderstands or deliberately changes the sense of the final note on flank- and rearguards. Where M has: αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας οὐκ ἤλλασσον· τοὺς δὲ πλαγιοφύλακας ἐνήλλασσον διὰ τὸν πλεῖστον κόπον, L has instead: αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐνήλλαττον διὰ τὸν πλεῖστον κόπον (146—147). The confusion seems to be based on genuinely different advice current in military manuals: the Anon. Vári 52, 4sq. (Dennis 31, 5sq.) does insist, for example, that the *saka* or rearguard, rather than the flank-guards, should be relieved regularly. Of course, this text may itself have been based on Leo Katakylas' treatise, or rather, the version in L²⁷.

Fourth, where M has ὑπ' αὐτὸν (corrected by Reiske to ὑπ' αὐτῶ) at 120 (referring to the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla*), L has ὑπ' αὐτῶν, which may be phonetically the same, but which clearly misunderstands the context. Whatever the origin of the error, it supports the contention that L is both based upon, and therefore more recent than, M.

Finally, where L has οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προέχοντες ἐκείνου (143), already suspected by Koukoulès to be a mistake for προτρέχοντες, M actually has οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προτρέχοντες ἐκείνου; where L has τοῦ ἀερίου and τοῦ εἰδικοῦ, M has τοῦ ἀεριοῦ and τοῦ ἰδικοῦ (104).

While none of these variations is conclusive, they cumulatively do suggest that the version preserved in M was both fuller and written in a slightly less atticising style. They also suggest that the version in L is less accurate a rendering of the original than that in M; and that some effort was made to effect a slight change in style. Since M preserves only about one half of (B), however, this comparison will not take us much further, except to suggest that if the pattern of variations evidenced by the pages which do survive were generalised throughout the text, then M seems to represent the fuller and older, and therefore more reliable witness to the original version of (B), than L. This impression is reinforced by what is otherwise known about the execution of M: that the codex was copied out with great care and considerable effort to reproduce as accurately as possible its archetypes²⁸. This might also suggest that

²⁷ See HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* II 335—336 and n.52. For Attic -ττ-, see BÖHLIG, *Sprachgebrauch* 20—22; PSALTES, *Grammatik* cap. 181.

²⁸ See, for example, DAIN, *Histoire du texte d'Élien le tacticien* (quoted n. 9) 189 and notes.

in M, the original title and heading (and therefore the attribution to Leo Katakylas) were included: M is, after all, a carefully-prepared collection of texts arranged in a specific order; if (B) was incorporated as a preface, as Dain has plausibly suggested, then the original title and attribution would have been essential.

While the exact relationship between the two versions must remain uncertain, the arguments outlined already make both the following hypotheses plausible: either Constantine had the original version of Leo's treatise (discovered by him at Sigrianē) copied directly into M when he commissioned that collection; he later prepared a slightly edited version, using Leo's original, which involved both stylistic changes (to "improve" the text) and the incorporation of a number of inaccuracies, probably the result of scribal error, with the intention of presenting it at some point to his son Romanos. This version was later incorporated into L; or Constantine had the original version of Leo's treatise copied into M; the original was lost or destroyed; he later prepared a second version, which included a number of changes and inaccuracies, but based on the version already copied into M. This second version was later copied into L. Whether the attribution to Leo Katakylas was removed from Constantine's second version or retained, to be dropped by the redactor of L, is impossible to say.

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The results of the foregoing discussion can be summarised as follows:

- (i) (C) is a work of Constantine VII dedicated to his son Romanos, and based largely on (B);
- (ii) (B) is itself a copy or version of a treatise by Leo Katakylas, compiled at the behest of Leo VI;
- (iii) (B) was incorporated into two major codices, M and later L, both of Constantinopolitan origin, the former compiled c. 950 and the latter between 963—969; we can further infer
- (iv) that, if the addition of the extant heading of (B) — as well as the editing of (A), see below — are the work of Constantine, then he presumably had originally intended to incorporate them into a compendium of some sort dealing with military

writings — perhaps actually represented by M — but that the writing of (C) later made at least (B) redundant. This further strengthens the view that its appearance in L, together with (C), must be the work of a later redactor, quite possibly unaware of the existence of (B) in M.

Finally, the dates of the two compilations. L, as has been shown by Bieliaev, Bury and later commentators, is the result — except for a few significant interpolations or emendations²⁹ — of Constantine's work as an editor and compiler: all of Book I, except for caps. 96 and 97, added after 963, and caps. 1—39 of Book II, represent his original treatise on imperial ceremonial³⁰. The remaining chapters of Book II, including the treatise of Philotheos, which also circulated independently³¹, while they may have been edited or collated by Constantine, were added — clumsily and in no real order — by a redactor during the reign of Nicephorus II³². The three treatises or parts of treatises (A), (B) and (C) seem to have been added, with little consideration for internal consistency, but not entirely without reason, since (B) and (C) both deal to some extent with ceremonial, as a preface to the main treatise, again — following Bury's reasoning — during the reign of Nicephorus II. As Irigoien and Kresten have now demonstrated, the codex is itself the original, one of a pair written out during Nicephorus II's reign, the other being represented by the Vatopedi and Chalki palimpsests.

M is, as we have seen, an ordered collection of military treatises dated to the period around 950. Here, the treatise (C) is not present, but the whole is prefaced by (B), in this case more logically, given the nature of the codex as a whole. (A) was almost certainly not present (see below, section F). This means, as suggested already, that (B) was available to the redactor of M and that, therefore, the latter was produced in the same scriptorium as, later, L³³. But it also suggests very strongly that (C), which would have fitted the plan of M very well, was not available to the redactor of the latter

²⁹ BURY, Ceremonial Book 221.

³⁰ BURY, Ceremonial Book 221 ff.

³¹ OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 72—81.

³² BURY, Ceremonial Book 223 ff., and see his summary, 227.

³³ It seems improbable that (B), only recently edited or prepared for incorporation by Constantine, existed in more than one version.

codex; in other words, that M was produced at a time when an edited or unedited version of (B), prepared for a collection of military treatises, was available; but before Constantine had written (C). The conclusion must be that M represents the material collected by Constantine for the work on military treatises and assembled in a single codex at a date after he had discovered Leo Katakylas' treatise, but before he had written the treatise (C) dedicated to his son Romanos.

These considerations provide a very approximate date for the compilation of (C), therefore, and equally, a date before which M must have been compiled. Romanos II was born some time after 15th March 938, and would have celebrated his fourteenth birthday — the age at which he formally entered adulthood — sometime in 952³⁴. It is likely that Constantine decided to compile (C), addressed to his son, specifically for guidance in the conduct of imperial military expeditions; and I would suggest that such a treatise is unlikely to have been relevant before Romanos was in a position to understand the matters involved or participate himself. Constantine himself took a keen interest in the military affairs of the empire (or claimed that he did so), but regretted that he had himself never led an expedition³⁵. There is no reason to doubt that (C) was written in the hope or assumption that his son might achieve what he had

³⁴ The same argument has been applied by JENKINS and MORAVCSIK to date the final compilation of the DAI, see Comm. 5.

³⁵ See AHRWEILER, *Un discours* 399, 71—76; cf. VÁRI, *Exzerptenwerk* 78—84; LEMERLE, *Premier humanisme* 272. Note HUNGER's comments, *Profane Lit.* II 329. Constantine is reported by Scylitzes (247) to have intended to lead an expedition against Syria; and his plans in this respect (although his actual participation is not referred to) are also alluded to in a poem attributed to a certain Symeon, *patrikios, asēkrētēs, magistros* and *logothetēs tou stratiōtikou* (probably Symeon Metaphrastes, as ŠEVČENKO argues), dating to November of 959. See I. ŠEVČENKO, *Poems on the Death of Leo VI and Constantine VII in the Madrid Manuscript of Scylitzes*. *DOP* 23—24 (1969—1970) 187—228, see 211, 49—52; with commentary at 221f. Romanos is mentioned in a harangue to be read to the troops of the eastern armies in 958 (according to VÁRI and accepted by AHRWEILER), when he would have been 20 years old. According to the text of this harangue, both Constantine and his son were prepared to join the troops in their struggle. 958 might provide an approximate date for the compilation of (C), the more so since, as will be shown below, Constantine never finished it. See for the date of the harangue VÁRI, *Exzerptenwerk* 81.

been unable to do. Further, it should be noted that Constantine refers to this treatise (C) in addition to others, already compiled, which strongly implies the *De administrando imperio* in particular, since it too was addressed specifically to Romanos (see [B] 21—23). This again would suggest that Constantine compiled his treatise on expeditions after he had completed these other works, i. e. (in the case of the *DAI*) after 952.

This is clearly hypothetical, but it does, I believe, provide a general framework for the compilation of (C), an approximate date for M, and a clarification of the relationship between the original document of Leo Katakylas, the lightly re-styled and re-titled Constantinian version, and the two codices L and M. This might be represented as follows:

- (i) Constantine searches for material on imperial expeditions (c. 930—950);
- (ii) he discovers Leo Katakylas' work; possibly has an emended version made, preparatory to its inclusion in a more general work on such matters. M is begun, and Leo Katakylas' piece is included as a preface;
- (iii) 952 (ca.; as *terminus post quem*) Constantine revises his ideas and decides to produce (C), a fuller and much more detailed version of (B);
- (iv) 963—969 (A) and (B), together with (C), are found in the archive alongside the remaining material for the work on ceremonial, and much other material; and are incorporated into L.

E. THE STRUCTURE OF TEXT (C)

As we have seen, the first and main section of (C) (54—606) is a treatise devoted to the details of organisation of imperial expeditions, based on an emended version of a treatise devoted to the same subject ascribed to Leo Katakylas. The material for this section is drawn from a variety of sources, both official and unofficial. Constantine's opening comments on the value of experience echo closely the sentiments of the prooimion to Onosander's *Strategikos*, on which he may have drawn (see 8—19 and Onosandros, *Strategikos* proem. 7—10 [pp. 2—3]). The account of his search for material follows, and the reference to the Isaurians at 46—47 is indicative of the tradition, if not of the material itself, upon which he drew³⁶. For the background to Katakylas' own treatise, see above.

The information which follows is set out in a rather disorganised and often repetitive fashion. The first part, from 67—311 consists chiefly of lists: of pack-animals to be provided "customarily" for the imperial baggage-train by a range of imperial officials, military and civilian; as well as by churchmen and monastic establishments; of equipment to be provided for the imperial household; of gifts for the soldiers and officers and for foreigners and refugees; and so on. The list of military officers who provide such pack-animals (at 86—92) dates probably to the reign of Basil I; and so may well be drawn from an official document or record, presumably from one of Basil's own campaigns. This might be confirmed by the fact that neither Leo VI nor Romanos I (as emperor) personally conducted military expeditions; and since such prestations would be required only on these occasions, i. e. when the imperial baggage-train was present, Basil I's reign and military activity would be the most recent source of such information. The last such expedition was in 881/882, against Melitēnē³⁷. Similarly, the reference at 103—109 to animals

³⁶ See also V. V. KUČMA, "Strategikos" Onasandra i "Strategikon Mavrikiya": opit sravnitel'noi charakteristiki. *VV* 43 (1982) 35—52, in which the influence of Onosander on the *Strategikon* of Maurice is highlighted.

³⁷ CMH IV/1, 715.

provided by the 52 archbishops and 52 metropolitans seems also to date from the end of Basil's reign³⁸. Of the various officials referred to, the two *kouratores* fix the list in Basil's reign or later, for it was he who established the *kouratōr* of the *Maggana*³⁹.

There are no other clear references which would fix Constantine's sources to any specific reign, except for a single mention of Basil I's issue of largesses to his soldiers, at 501—511. But these hints are suggestive enough to imply that most of the information and material were of Basil's time, at least as far as these lists are concerned; the detail is so considerable that, assuming this procedure was indeed specific to an imperial expedition, no other conclusion is possible.

The lists themselves are reasonably orderly, with only one or two repetitions — at 266—274 and 302—308, for example — although Constantine clearly found it difficult to arrange his material as neatly as he might have liked: many of the headings include information which would be suitable under several different entries, a result in fact of the practical co-operation in many matters between different palatine bureaux (see 162—184; 261—266, for example). The material which follows the lists, however, — 312 (the emperor's departure) — 606 (a note on the position of some of the imperial riding horses) — is less well-organised. Constantine clearly wanted to set out the procedure for the expedition from the moment when the emperor embarked, to the entry into hostile territory, on a more-or-less chronological basis. To a degree, he succeeds; but he clearly found, or referred back to, information as he wrote, with the result that the narrative is broken and unclear. He clearly relied upon his memory to remind him when and where a specific detail was to be incorporated. Two items which may be from an account of Basil's actual deeds include the prayer upon his departure from the City (at 324—331) and the harangue to the troops (at 466—473: see the commentary for both). The texts of both are specific enough to suggest that they may have been recorded at the time.

While most of this material cannot be dated nearer than the period from the reign of Basil I to that of Constantine VII, there are thus good reasons for believing that much of the information dates

³⁸ See on (C) 92 and 104—105.

³⁹ See on (C) 96.

from Basil's reign rather than later. That this material was not filed in any systematic way and that there was no single account is clear both from Constantine's opening remarks and from his methods of working. The inclusion of the "ancient imperial ordinance" (ἑσπισμα δὲ ἀρχαῖον) at 402 is indicative likewise of his "grasshopper" methods — presumably he came across a reference to this in his researches, and thought it worthwhile including, with an explanation of its importance, at the appropriate place⁴⁰. Much of what Constantine says, of course, while based on older information, is intended to be prescriptive — this is what should happen, this is the way things ought to be done — and, apart from the use of *χρὴ δέ, δέον δέ, ὀφείλει*, and so forth, the regular use of the present tense fulfills this function. Some of his information — notably the details of specific practices or events which are mentioned in (B), but not described — may well be drawn from the same sources used by Leo Katakylas himself, assuming that the latter was not writing from memory and his own wide experience of military affairs. Whereas the latter chose to summarise them in the briefest of terms, however, Constantine seems keen to have set out the details as fully as possible — the prayer upon leaving the City, the greeting and harangue before the troops, the details of the procedure regarding the *mētata* and the provision of pack-animals, for example.

This section of (C) ends with a second exhortation to his son Romanos (607—617) emphasising the importance of the material prepared for him by his father.

The rest of the treatise falls into two main groups of materials, as follows:

- (i) miscellaneous: 618—646, the list of beacons from Loulon to Constantinople, including also the story concerning Michael III and his closing them down; 647—652, the order of payment of the *themata* according to the old four-yearly rotation; 653—664, a note of the orders to be issued by senior officers before a

⁴⁰ On Constantine's working methods, see, for example, LEMERLE, *Premier humanisme* 274; and on the availability of source materials in the palatine archives, see C. WENDEL, *Die erste kaiserliche Bibliothek in Konstantinopel. Zentralbl. für Bibliothekswesen* 59 (1942) 193—209; and K. MANAPHES, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει βιβλιοθήκαι αὐτοκρατορικαὶ καὶ πατριαρχικὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς χειρογράφων μέχρι τῆς ἀλώσεως* (1453). Athens 1972.

campaign to their subordinates with regard to equipment, tools and related matters (which may be inspired by or based on part of [B], see [B] 38—39).

- (ii) triumphal entries: 665—706, a formalised account of a fifth- or sixth-century triumphal entry or return into Constantinople; 707—723, an account of Justinian's entry into Constantinople on 11th August 559 (see notes on 707 in Commentary); 724—807, an account of the triumph of Basil I in 878; 808—884, accounts of triumphs of Theophilus in 831 and 837.

Some of this material seems quite relevant to Constantine's project, some less so. The triumphal entries, while they are not directly connected with the organisation of an expedition, do concern its (successful) outcome; ceremony and the correct observance on such occasions were direct concerns of Constantine, of course, and so while the material may seem rather out of place, its inclusion is not without rational grounds. The sources of these accounts remain unclear. The first two accounts may come from a single source dealing with the prescribed procedure for such events and illustrated by the entry of 559. The material bears many similarities to that ascribed to Peter the Patrician (caps. 84—95, *De Cer.* 386, 24—433, 9) in Book I, and to the chapter on an imperial visit to the granaries of the *Stratēgion* (*De Cer.* 699, 6—701, 17) in Book II, which may also be ascribed to Peter⁴¹. Clearly, Constantine's method here was either to provide the section which he excerpted with new headings (*ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν* etc.) but leave the text of the original more or less unaltered; or to compile a "composite" text from several sections of his archetype (illustrated by the heading at *De Cer.* 389, 1—2, for example: *περὶ διαφορᾶς στρατειῶν, καὶ πόθεν αὐταὶ δίδονται, καὶ τί ἀρμόζει ἐκάστῳ σκρινίῳ, ὅσα εὐρεῖν ἡδυνήθημεν*), again providing his own headings. This seems to have been the case at 665—668: the title is clearly Constantine's — *ὅσα δεῖ γίνεσθαι* etc. — as are the first two lines, referring back to his own section on the

⁴¹ See BURY's analysis, *Ceremonial Book* 212—213, 216—217. Peter was *magister officiorum* from 539/540 to his death in 565. There is no reason for not ascribing the account of the triumph of 559, and a description of the formalities of an imperial return to the capital to his name. See GUILLAND, *Patrices du VI^e siècle* 285 (= *Institutions II* 144) for prosopographical notes and literature. For the older literature, see Bury, *Ceremonial Book* 212—213.

emperor's departure (from 312), connecting the two sections and thereby justifying the incorporation of the triumphal processions. The account is itself archaic and clearly comes from a late Roman source⁴².

For Basil I's triumph of 878, as well as those of Theophilus in 831 and 837, Constantine probably relied on sources used also by the *Scriptores post Theophanem* commissioned by him, or writing during his reign⁴³. But the detail which Constantine goes into in his descriptions of these entries, details not found in any of the chroniclers' accounts (although reference is made to the triumphs — see Commentary and the appropriate notes to the text), suggest other sources not available, or at least not fully exploited, by the chronicle-writers⁴⁴; these may have been official accounts preserved in the palatine archive, perhaps intended originally for the glorification of the emperor; or accounts extracted from some now lost encomiastic compositions. Clearly, such accounts were written down — that preserving the account of the entry of Nicephorus II in 963 provides a good parallel⁴⁵. Taking Constantine's own introductory remarks into account, however, there is no reason to doubt that the whole of this section on triumphs was an integral part of his treatise (C).

What of the section of material referred to above as "miscellaneous"? The account of the beacons, together with the story of Michael III, is clearly thought to be relevant by Constantine, since it is introduced quite explicitly by a further address to Romanos which connects the previous section to this account. The passage is of historical interest since, according to Constantine, the system no longer operated; but it is also relevant to the organisation of military expeditions led by the emperor. The origins of the story are obscure; neither the list of beacons nor the story itself appear in Leo Grammaticus, Georgius Monachus Continuatus or Theodosius of Melitēnē, the three Greek versions of the original chronicle of the

⁴² See GUILLAND, loc. cit. (n. 41 above).

⁴³ On whom see BURY, ERE 453—461; JENKINS, Chronological Accuracy 91—112; the summary in TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 606—612; HUNGER, Profane Lit. I 347—357; LEMERLE, Premier humanisme 274—275.

⁴⁴ Constantine himself goes into no details of Basil's entry in his own account, for example. See Th. Cont. 284, 2—5.

⁴⁵ De Cer. 433, 11—440, 11, see esp. 438, 1sq.

Logothete, independent of the Constantinian tradition⁴⁶. This may be good grounds for doubting the veracity of the account that the beacons were actually shut down permanently; it is certainly good grounds for doubting that Michael III's penchant for racing was the only reason behind their closure. Possibly, of course, the expansion of the empire during Constantine's reign, the change in the balance of power in the East, and the more-or-less permanent basing of the *tagmata* under the *domestikoi* of the *Scholai* in the East, had made the signal-beacons effectively redundant. The story may be part of the general attempt under Constantine to exaggerate Michael's mistakes and to malign his character. Such beacons were still employed for local purposes according to the treatise *De velitatione bellica*⁴⁷.

While the list of beacons and the story of Michael III are clearly drawn from a source available also to the compilers of the continuation of Theophanes and the Pseudo-Symeon (the variations in spelling, and the substitution in this text for St. Mamas of Mt. Olympus in Bithynia, is probably a result of Constantine's own preference and, in the latter case, of a desire to be more specific about the location of the beacon), however, that dealing with the order of payment of the *themata* is rather less relevant. Indeed, this section of (C) is not very logically constructed at all. The item on orders to be issued before campaigns, which follows that on thematic payments, would more logically follow the list of beacons (and compare [B] 34—45) and both might have been more suitably placed before (C) 55—59 (the announcement of a campaign) or 312 (the emperor sets out for Pylae). The item on thematic payments, however, seems quite incongruous. Is it possible, therefore, that Constantine never completed his treatise, merely assembling the relevant material, most of which he succeeded in editing and writing up; but some items of which remained to be incorporated by a later redactor? The curious inclusion of this item and the suspect position of the note on orders to be issued before a campaign, might suggest as much. Constantine would thus have completed (C) as far as the end of the

⁴⁶ For the relationship between these chronicles, see HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* I 339—343, 354—357; and the useful summary in ROSSER, *Theophilus the Unlucky* 9—23.

⁴⁷ See the notes to (C) 618sq. below, pp. 254—255.

story about Michael III; he would also have collected and edited the accounts of the imperial triumphs, intended as a final section (as is apparent from his opening sentence at 667—668) as well as material on the preparations for expeditions; but the whole would not have been properly integrated. The less discriminating redactor of the period 963—969 would thus have put the material together in more-or-less the order intended by Constantine, but he must also have incorporated the snippet of information on thematic payments (including Constantine's introductory *ιστέον ὅτι . . .*) which he found filed together with the rest of the material.

It is, of course, impossible to demonstrate conclusively that this was the case. But the similarities between this section of (C) and the way in which parts of Book II of the Book of Ceremonies were constructed make it very likely⁴⁸. It is possible, for example, that the note on the quadrennial payment of the *themata* should have followed or preceded the list of payments of *stratēgoi* in Book II⁴⁹; and that both were actually intended by Constantine to be incorporated into a larger treatise on imperial military organisation, possibly together with (A) (see below). The material is also relevant to both the *De thematibus* and the *DAI*; and may indeed derive from documents of the same date — the list of payments of *stratēgoi* is stated to be of the time of Leo VI; the description of thematic payments is described as the custom "of old". The incongruity of this section in a treatise on expeditions matches the repetitious and disorganised nature of the material on the expedition to Crete (where material pertaining to the campaign of 949, at De Cer. 662, 11—664, 2, is included under the heading for the expedition to Lombardy at 661, 7sq.; and is then repeated in a slightly different form under the correct heading at 669, 5sq. etc.), inserted randomly into Book II, for example. And presumably both this information, as well as that on the various military undertakings included in Book II, was culled from records in the imperial palace, possibly in the archive of one of the palatine *sekreta* — the *vestiarion* or *eidikon*, for example, or indeed, the *stratiōtikon*.

The source of the information on orders issued before a campaign is uncertain. Similar lists of equipment to be taken by each

⁴⁸ See BURY's remarks, Ceremonial Book 223 and 226—227.

⁴⁹ De Cer. 696, 10—697, 17.

unit occur also in Leo's *Tactica*⁵⁰, and Constantine has presumably copied down some general prescription on such matters. That this sort of information was relevant to his concerns is clear enough, for a similar statement occurs in (B) at 34—45 as noted already. The lack of any other comment on such matters reinforces the impression that this section of (C) was never completed by Constantine himself, but was compiled from an assortment of documents filed together by the later redactor of L.

Finally, it is worth noting that this text has no real ending or conclusion. Given Constantine's penchant for advising his son, and the clearly pedagogic function of the main parts of this text, this is rather an obvious omission. We are left to conclude that Constantine never wrote a conclusion because he never completed the final, integrated version of his treatise⁵¹.

Text (C) is thus not a homogeneous treatise, as generally assumed. The main section, written probably after 952, and most of the material included in it, was certainly intended to be incorporated; but the miscellaneous material, with the exception of the list of beacons, must have been intended for a different work or, at the least, a very different order in (C).

⁵⁰ Leo, *Tact.* VI 27; 28 (729 B—C).

⁵¹ For the date of his death (9th, 15th or 19th November 959) see MARKOPOULOS, *Témoignage* 108. This treatise was, therefore, probably the last of Constantine's undertakings, together with, possibly, the *De thematibus*, if we accept AHRWEILER's recent argument — see H. AHRWEILER, *Sur la date du De Thematibus de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète*. *TM* 8 (1981) 1—5.

F. THE STRUCTURE AND THE DATE OF TEXT (A)

This short text lists the *aplēkta* in Anatolia, followed by a list of which of them should serve as points of rendezvous for various *themata*, the *tagmata* under the *domestikos* of the *Scholai*, and the emperor. It has been carefully examined by several scholars, the most useful analyses being those of Bury and, most recently, of Huxley⁵². The confused nature of the text as it appears in L has been thoroughly discussed and need not detain us here. The information it contains is clearly drawn from a variety of sources of different date; but the earliest material probably dates from after 838, as Huxley and others have noted, since Kaborkin is listed as the *aplēkton* of the Anatolikon, as opposed to Amorion⁵³. Information from the period up to 878/879 — campaigns against Tephrikē, for example — is also in evidence; while the reference to the *stratēgos* of Seleukeia suggests information from the reign of Romanos I, since the *kleisoura* of that name first became a *thema* at this time⁵⁴.

All those who have discussed the list have also suggested emendations in an effort to re-establish an "original". While there is no doubt that the list is confused — the repetition of ὁ στρατηγός Ἀνατολικῶν at 6 and 8; the use of ὅτε instead of ὅτι (ιστέον ὅτι) at 6, 9 and 13; the non-appearance of *themata* which ought to be men-

⁵² See RAMSAY 202—203; GELZER, *Themenverfassung* 108—114; J. B. BURY, *The ἀπληκτα of Asia Minor. Βυζαντίς* 2 (1911) 216—224; VRYONIS, *Hellenism* 31—32; TOYNBEE, *Const. Porph.* 301—302; HUXLEY, *List* 87—93.

⁵³ E. g. HUXLEY, *List* 90. But it must be remembered that the thematic *aplēkton* may not necessarily have been at the same location as the thematic headquarters. Koron (al-Qurrah) was the military headquarters of the *thema* of lesser Cappadocia (from at least 863) and probably of the earlier *kleisoura* of the same name (from the early ninth century at least); while the *thema* of Charsianon (by 873 at the latest, see HALDON-KENNEDY, *Arab-Byzantine Frontier* 86, n. 21), in which Caesarea lay, had the fortress of Charsianon *kastron* as its headquarters. (Cf. (C) 462. Yet Caesarea was still the *aplēkton* for campaigns in this direction; see HALDON-KENNEDY, *Arab-Byzantine Frontier* 85—87 and references, and note HUXLEY, *List* 93, n. 19.

⁵⁴ HUXLEY, *List* 90; HALDON-KENNEDY, *Arab-Byzantine Frontier* 86, n. 21.

tioned, such as Thrace and the Opsikion, and so forth — the assumption of an “original” of any sort is somewhat questionable. The insertion, and frequent miscopying, of $\delta\tau\iota$, as well as the confusions listed, suggest rather that Constantine had once again prepared a file of information on this matter, but that he had not had time to impose any sort of order upon it; and additionally, that not all of the information he might have wished to include is actually present in this text. Constantine was, within the limits of his abilities and the materials at his disposal, a reasonably competent editor. He certainly emended information in order to bring it up to date or impose some logic upon it when necessary. But this list is quite chaotic, and really unlike anything else which Constantine edited; it seems most likely that it was put together by a redactor not particularly knowledgeable in such matters, and after Constantine’s time. What the redactor found, therefore, were Constantine’s notes and comments — the list of *aplēkta* itself; followed by his own observations on where the emperor met thematic forces.

A further point concerns the armies which were to meet the emperor at each of the *aplēkta*. It has been assumed that the first reference to the Anatolikon force (6) is an error for the Opsikion (or *Opsikianoi*); Huxley then conjectures, following Bury, that the reference to the Thrakēsion troops at 6 is likewise a mistake, and should read $\delta\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\delta\varsigma\Theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\varsigma$ ⁵⁵. Such emendations are all quite logical, if we assume that the text as it stands represents a coherent list, which has been confused by inaccurate copying. Much more likely, it seems to me, is that the redactor found only a jumble of notes based on Constantine’s own researches, and representing more likely than not examples of where different forces had met at different times on the occasion of specific campaigns in the past. It is not impossible, for example, that the armies of Thrakēsion and Anatolikon did on occasion meet at Malagina. It is certainly odd that in this text the *domestikos* of the *Scholai*, and the *tagmata*, “ought” to meet the emperor at Kaborkin; for as both (B) and (C), and many other texts imply, these units were as often joined by the emperor at Malagina. The rendezvous depended to a great extent on whether the *tagmata* were already in the provinces, or whether they

⁵⁵ HUXLEY, List 90.

had returned to their bases in Thrace and Bithynia⁵⁶. Again, therefore, the meeting of the *domestikos*, the *stratēgos* of the Anatolikon and that of Seleukeia at Kaborkin probably represents an actual occasion, the details of which were omitted, probably by Constantine, and may well not represent, or indeed be intended to represent, any standard rule or procedure. This much is suggested by the inclusion of the phrase “if the expedition is to . . .”⁵⁷, which does raise a suspicion that the information given in the text should be qualified in this way, and that the examples of objectives in the first section have been omitted or ignored, by Constantine or the redactor. The last sentence is evidence of this misunderstanding⁵⁸. Indeed, the presence of the ὅτε may in fact be evidence of the original form of the narrative and the descriptive nature of Constantine’s sources, a survival from the original “when the general so-and-so and the general so-and-so . . .”, but mistakenly incorporated into a different syntactic structure⁵⁹.

Whatever the notes from which this passage was taken, however, it seems clear enough that there was no “original” document, neatly listing the *aplēkta* and the rendezvous points for different expeditions in a coherent form. The scribe and redactor of L seem to have managed other annotated information which they found in an accurate form — why should they have made a complete chaos out of this one only? What we have here are the brief notes of Constantine’s research, drawn from a variety of accounts and sources on past expeditions, put together by a later redactor whose chief aim was to find a suitable context for them; but whose actual understanding of the material and its contents seems to have been minimal. It is quite likely that (A), which may well have been filed along with (B) and (C), was never intended by Constantine to be part of his plans for a treatise on expeditions, and that it accompa-

⁵⁶ See the notes to the text, *infra*; and note that the troops of Anatolikon and Thrakēision met and campaigned together under Constantine V, for example, between 741 and 744: see Theoph. 415ff.

⁵⁷ Twice explicitly (against Tarsos or “the East”); and once implicitly (against Tephrikē). See Huxley, List 90—91.

⁵⁸ ὅτε τὰ Ἀρμενιακά θέματα ὀφείλουσιν ἀποσωρεύεσθαι εἰς Τεφρικὴν εἰς τὸν Βαθὺν Ῥύακα . . . (restored by HUXLEY [following RAMSAY 203] as: ὅτι τὰ Ἀρμενιάκα θέματα ὀφείλουσιν ἀποσωρεύεσθαι, (εἰ) εἰς Τεφρικὴν, εἰς τὸν Βαθὺν Ῥύακα).

⁵⁹ Cf. (C) 421: Ἰστέον ὅτι, ὅτε κερκετεύει ὁ δρουγγάριος . . .

nies and precedes (B) merely because the redactor could find no other appropriate place, in his opinion, to place it. At any rate, hypothetical restitutions of the text are probably not justified, since there was no original text to reconstitute. While this does not mean that the exercise has not been useful, it does mean that it has involved less a reconstitution of an original text than a modern analysis of the *aplēkta* and their function in military undertakings directed against Muslims and Paulicians. In conclusion, it is unlikely that (A) ever circulated as an independent text, unlike (B); or that it was incorporated into M.

G. CONCLUSIONS

The texts which I have referred to as (A), (B) and (C), therefore, constitute three independent and quite separate pieces. (C) is the latest, and represents a work compiled and partly written by Constantine VII for his son Romanos. Based in its main elements on (B), which represents a lightly edited version of the original treatise of Leo Katakylas, it was begun probably after the middle of the 950s but was never completed. A later redactor added miscellaneous and not always entirely relevant pieces of material already collated by Constantine; as well as the final section, in accordance with Constantine's plans, dealing with triumphal entries into Constantinople.

(B) is almost certainly a copy made on Constantine's order of the treatise he refers to of the *magistros* Leo Katakylas, probably written down originally c. 903—912. It has a Constantinian heading. It seems to represent the complete text, but there may be elements omitted which it is now impossible to detect. It was copied into the Laurentianus 55, 4 before Constantine had compiled (C), i. e. before c. 958—959 at the very latest, since it is reasonable to assume that otherwise (C) might also have appeared in M.

(A) represents some notes made by Constantine on the *aplēkta* of Asia Minor and the assembly-points of various thematic forces according to the objective of the campaign; information culled from a wide variety of potential sources. It is probable that this material was originally collected for a third treatise, never begun. These notes were later incorporated into L with little discrimination or understanding by a redactor who found them with the other material quite probably on the instructions of Basil the *parakoimōmenos*. As such they represent no "original" text, merely the unedited notes for an incomplete and now lost work.

It is interesting that all three documents, but particularly (A) and (C), deal only with Asia Minor, where the objective in (C) is assumed to be Syria. During the reigns of Basil I, Leo VI and Romanos I (up to 927), the Bulgars played a central role in Byzan-

tine foreign relations, and determined likewise Byzantine military activity in many ways⁶⁰. But from 927 until 965 Bulgaria, under its Tsar Peter, maintained close and friendly relations with the empire⁶¹. The situation in Anatolia, and on the eastern frontier in general, was very different. Against a background of regular annual raids by both Arabs and Byzantines into the border-lands and beyond, the tenth century witnessed a series of major campaigns by successive Byzantine commanders. This effort became more concentrated and more successful after 927 and the end of hostilities with Bulgaria; and a first phase culminated with the final capture of Melitēnē in 934. Under the leadership of the Hamdanid emir 'Ali, known as Saif ad-Daulah, Muslim forces were able to stem the tide between 934 and 955, winning several significant victories. But after 955 the Byzantine offensive regained its momentum under the direction of the new *domestikos* of the *Scholai*, Nicephorus Phocas, who replaced his brother Bardas; and later under John Tzimiskēs⁶². While it is not conclusive, the absence of any reference to the conduct of expeditions in the Balkans, or against areas other than Syria, does suggest a preoccupation with the latter war-zone, and provides a wide historical context for the compilation of the treatise (C). Of course, the fact that Leo Katakylas' account also makes no reference to the Balkans, at a time when Bulgaria was the main foe of the empire, shows that these absences may not necessarily be of great significance⁶³. But again, the list of *aplēkta* (A), dealing exclusively with Asia Minor, presents material which was intended to deal with campaigns and marching routes in this region only; which suggests that Constantine had collected material with particular

⁶⁰ See OBOLENSKY, Byzantine Commonwealth 115ff.

⁶¹ OBOLENSKY, Byzantine Commonwealth 127ff.

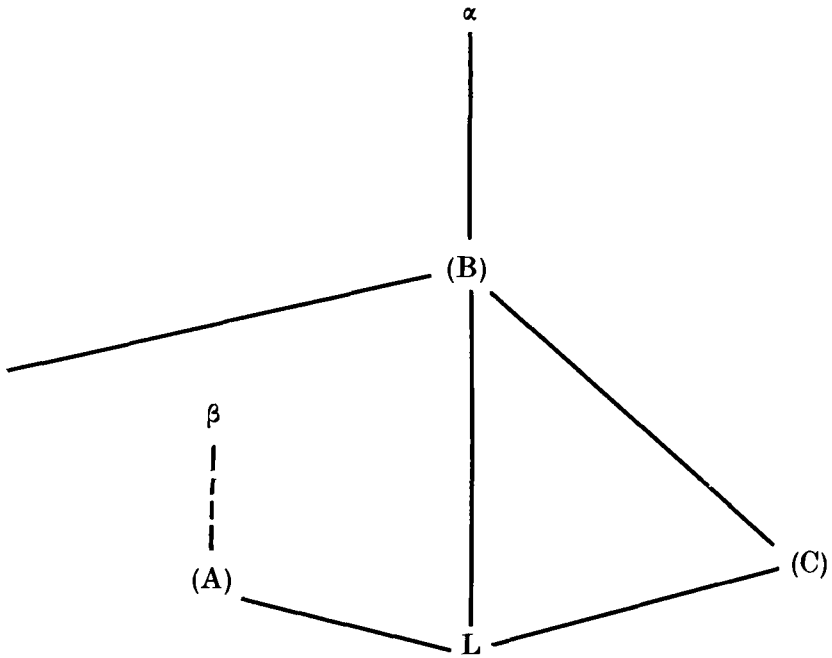
⁶² For synoptic accounts, with literature, see CMH IV/1, 716—721; OSTROGORSKY, Geschichte 230—232; 235—236. Note also MARKOPOULOS, Témoignage 106—107 (on Vat. gr. 163, cap. 11, 1—6).

⁶³ Although Leo's treatise is in fact remarkably silent with regard to geographical location. The ἀόκλητα at (B) 128 could equally be in the Balkans, although one assumes that the Byzantine-Arab border zone is usually so denominated. Otherwise the only suggestion of a campaign in Asia Minor is the mention of the emperor's departure from Constantinople by boat ([B] 90) which is by no means conclusive — the emperor might equally have sailed up to the Hebdomon, for example; and the fact that the *ek prosōpou* must deal with reports from "the West" ([B] 63).

reference to this field of operations. Constantine's clear interest in the military struggle in this area, particularly as expressed in his two surviving harangues addressed to the eastern forces and their officers (written in 952—953 and 958); together with the address to his son and the assumption, both in this address and in one of the harangues, that Romanos would himself participate in a campaign⁶⁴, provides further corroboration for the contention made above, namely, that (C) was compiled in the years immediately before 958.

⁶⁴ See n. 35 above.

H. STEMMA CODICUM ET TEXTUUM



treatise of Leo Katakylas (c. 903—912)

list of *aplēkta*

Constantine's version of α (c. 930—950)

Constantine's extended version of (B) (after 952 [?]
—959)

sources of (A)

cod. Medic.-Laur. 55, 4 (c. 950—955)

cod. Lips. Rep. I 17 (c. 963—969)

I. THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXTS

In spite of Constantine's remarks at (C) 30—34 regarding Leo Katakylas' lack of competence in "proper" Greek, none of the three texts treated here is composed in an obviously atticising style. Only the contributions of Constantine himself, the two addresses to Romanos (8—19 and 607—617), present a more clearly learned style and pretensions; together with what I have suggested may be Constantine's emendations in the version of (B) in L as opposed to that in M. Indeed, there is little to differentiate (C) from (B) in this respect, reinforcing the impression that Constantine merely had the greater part of his material, certainly for the main section of his treatise, copied out directly from the sources at his disposal. Both texts, accurately reflecting the technical and rather specialised nature of their subject matter, make use of a wide range of non-Greek terms of Latin, Arabic, Slav, Turkic and Iranian origin, which are noted and discussed, where relevant, in the accompanying commentary.

The language of the three texts, similar in many respects to that of the *De administrando imperio* and the *De caerimoniis*, represents what might loosely be termed a formalised and practical Constantinopolitan technical and administrative register, evidenced also in treatises such as Leo's *Tactica*, the *De velitatione bellica* of Nicephorus II, the *Praecepta imperatoris* ascribed to the same, or the anonymous mid-tenth-century *De re militari* edited by Vári and, more recently, by Dennis. It represents the informal *Koinē* which had dominated hagiographical, technical and practical writings since the seventh century at least, and which retained its contacts with the spoken language, in contrast to the artificial (and, very loosely defined) "Attic" of the period of literary revival in the later ninth and tenth centuries⁶⁵.

While the texts edited here present no surprises in respect of the known development of the language at this period, a number of features deserve attention.

⁶⁵ See the relevant entries in the bibliography.

With regard to vocabulary, copulative compounds are numerous: determinative compounds such as ζυγοφλάσκιον, σιτλολέκανον, καυκοπινάκιον, ἄξινορύγιον, πλατυλίσκιον, for example; as well as dvandva compounds such as σαγματοπασμαγάδιον, ὑποκαμισοβράκια⁶⁶. Syncopation of final vowels, especially in neuter forms, normal in the spoken language since the second century A. D., is equally common in these texts: τραπέζιν, κλιβάνιν, φανάριν, σπαθήν, κουβούκλην, ἀγγελάδην, φακιόλην, παλάτιν, σαγμάριν, ἄξινάριν, τριβλάττην, and many other examples illustrate the point⁶⁷. In addition, the standard combination of a preposition with a substantive used adverbially occurs on several occasions in an elided form, to produce what are in effect copulative compound adverbs: κατασαγμάριον (per pack-animal), καταβαγείαν (absent without leave), διαχειρῶν (by the hand [of]), διαπαντός (perpetually, for ever), for example⁶⁸.

As might be expected, a large number of loan-words is present. They appear to represent at least two stages of borrowings: in the first instance, Latin words which had been absorbed into the language during the later Roman period, up to the sixth or early seventh century: σάγμα, μωλάριον, σπαθίον (σπαθήν), φοσσᾶτον, τούλδον, ἔξπέδιτον, φακιόλιον, παλάτιον, κουβούκλειον, κουρατωρεῖον, χαρτουλάριος, κελλάριος, σαφραμεντάριος, μινσουράτωρ, and a great many more; together with loanwords from other languages via Latin — Iranian, for example — such as κλιβάνιον⁶⁹. In the second instance, more recent borrowings from both eastern and western sources: medieval Italian *prozza*, for example (πότζος). Turkic words such as *başmak* (πασμαγάδιον), words derived from Arabic, such as ἄβδία, ἀδημία,

⁶⁶ See especially the detailed analysis of PSALTES, *Grammatik*, caps. 474—511; BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek* 71. For general surveys of the development of the language at this period, see BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek* 57—91; and for lexicography, KAHANE, *Abendland und Byzanz* passim; KAHANE, *Western Impact* 128ff.; MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica* I 191—196; II 23—41 and the rich bibliography. See also R. BROWNING, *The Language of Byzantine Literature*, in: Speros VRYONIS, jr., ed., *The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture (Byzantina kai Metabyzantina* 1). Malibu 1978, 104—133, esp. 114—119.

⁶⁷ PSALTES, *Grammatik*, caps. 95—96; 221—222.

⁶⁸ Cf. PSALTES, *Grammatik*, caps. 471f. Other examples: παρεκάτερα, καταμίαν, διαστίγων.

⁶⁹ A. D. H. BIVAR, *Cavalry Equipment and Tactics on the Euphrates Frontier*. *DOP* 26 (1972) 271—291, see 277 and n. 28.

φατλίον ('abayeh, 'adīm, faṭīl), and words derived from the Slav languages, such as βεδούριον (vedro) or βερζίτικον⁷⁰.

In respect of syntax, M seems to represent a more "demotic" version of the text of Katakylas (B), as has already been observed. Particularly obvious are the use of ἐκ with the accusative case (ἐκ τὰ ἄκρα θέματα) (70) and μετά with the accusative case (μετά σελλάρια) (110) for "from" and "with" (instrumental) respectively⁷¹. But both M and L demonstrate the standard medieval Greek confusion between ἐν with the dative and εἰς with the accusative for motion towards: thus at (C) 157 ἐν Συρίᾳ for "to Syria"; but εἰς Ῥωμανίαν at (C) 165 for "in Roman lands"; or εἰς τὰς φορτώσεις at (C) 267 contrasted with ἐν ταῖς φορτώσεσι at (C) 277, both with the same meaning⁷². Σύν with the genitive case is also found ([C] 840—841: σύν μανικελλίων; [C] 843: σύν χιώματι διαλίθου). There are many other examples, and the confusion demonstrates the well-known tendency for all prepositions to take the accusative case which by this time dominated the spoken language.

Confusion in the use of the active participle is also evident (again, typical of the written language of this period). At (C) 819—821, for example, we read: ἡ δὲ αὐγούστα . . . τοῦτον ὑπήνητησεν ἀποβάντι τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ προσκυνήσασα τοῦτον ἠσπάσατο . . .⁷³.

Of relevance to the phonology of the language are the forms ἐκβαλώτες (for ἐκβαλόντες at [C] 748) and πεσώτες (for πεσόντες at [C] 771), which demonstrate the evolving dentalisation of voiced nasal consonants between front vowels and unvoiced dentals, a process completed in modern Greek. Similar considerations seem to apply to the forms βάντων/βάντω at (C) 654, 655 normally written as βάνδων⁷⁴.

⁷⁰ TRIANTAPHYLLOIDES, *Lehnwörter passim*; BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek* 71f.

⁷¹ JANNARIS, *Greek Grammar*, cap. 1570; caps. 1605—1607.

⁷² JANNARIS, *Greek Grammar*, caps. 1538; 1547—1565; MITSAKIS, *Romanos* 103ff.; 108ff.

⁷³ JANNARIS, *Greek Grammar*, cap. 1670 — the confusion here reinforces the suggestion that σύν was no longer a part of the spoken language by this time. See, in general, BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek* 86; JANNARIS, *Greek Grammar*, caps. 1487—1699. Note at (C) 876—877, for example, where the verb δίδωμι occurs in the one sentence with *both* the dative and accusative cases.

For the confusion common in the use of active participles, see BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek* 68f.; BÖHLIG, *Sprachgebrauch* 176f.

⁷⁴ PSALTES, *Grammatik*, cap. 189; JANNARIS, *Greek Grammar*, cap. 194; TRIANTAPHYLLOIDES, *Lehnwörter* 361ff.

Likewise, *δυγαντάρια* ([C] 229) appears to represent *διβλαττάρια*, whereby the liquid lateral *-l-* recedes into an aspirated velar *-gh-*, and the dental *-tt-* is nasalised to *-nt-* (i.e. *-nd-*). The latter phenomenon is general in late ancient and medieval Greek; the former is a characteristic of the Cretan dialects, and is also found in *Samothrakē* and *Tsakonia*⁷⁵.

Worth noting also is the form *σαράκοντα* at (C) 384, a result of dissimilation, in this case, the loss of the first syllable, which represents the intermediate stage in the development from ancient Greek *τεσσαράκοντα* to modern Greek *σαράντα*, in which the syncopation of the penultimate syllable has also occurred⁷⁶.

Particularly interesting, however, are the numerous scribal or orthographic errors in the manuscripts, both in respect of standard lexical items and, especially obvious, in respect of proper names. Thus *Δορύλειον* instead of *Δορύλαιον*, *Κολώνια* for *Κολώνεια*, *Σαλάμβρια* for *Σηλύμβρια*, as well as confusion over the place-name *ἡ Ἱέρεια*, which appears here as both *τὰ Ἱέρια* and *αἱ Ἱερία*⁷⁷. Regular misspellings of Latin loan-words or technical terms demonstrates the inconsistencies of contemporary renderings, as well as the phonological confusion in the vowel-system of early medieval Greek: *ἐξκούβητος*, *ὀπτήματος*, *κεντινάρια*, *παλλάτιον*, for example, and regularly, *διβλάτιον*/*τριβλάτιον* with only one *-t-*. Confusion over long and short vowels in words of Latin origin is usual: *μινσουράτωρι* instead of *μινσουράτορι*, *στράτωρες*, and so on. Similar misspelling of common Greek words shows that the assimilation of long to short *-o-*, of *-η-* to *-ι-*/*-ει-*, of diphthong *-αι-* to *-ε-*, was well-established. Forms such as *κόρτι* (*κόρτη*), *προσθήκη* (*προσθήκη*), *αἰδῆμος* (*αἰδίμος*), *ἔξωδος* (*ἔξοδος*), *δέχετε* (*δέχεται*), *σῆγμα* (*σίγμα*), *χαμετρίκλινον* (*χαμαιτρίκλινον*),

⁷⁵ For *-ττ-*/*-ντ-*, see TRIANTAPHYLIDES, *Lehnwörter* esp. 363—364; and for *-βλ-*/*-βγ-* (*-υγ-*), JANNARIS, *Greek Grammar*, cap. 187; and esp. G. E. PAGKALOS, *Περὶ τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ἰδιώματος τῆς Κρήτης*, 6 vols. Athens 1955—1970, see I (1955) 220; and cf. standard modern Greek *αὔλακι* (Cretan *αὐγάκι*), for example.

⁷⁶ See JANNARIS, *Greek Grammar*, caps. 639; 645 (and see also 126); and note MITSAKIS, *Romanos* 18—19; 51—52: *σαράκοντα* is first attested in the sixth century.

⁷⁷ For *Hiereia*, see on (C) 727; and note PSALTES, *Grammatik*, cap. 65. The form *Salambria* may well demonstrate elements of Doric which survived into and beyond the medieval period: see A. G. TSOPANAKES, *Βυζαντινὰ διαλεκτικὰ στοιχεῖα στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη*, in: IDEM, *Συμβολὲς στὴν Ἱστορία τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, 2 vols. Thessaloniki 1983, II 265—277, esp. 272f.

ὕπιντησαν (ὕπῆντησαν), ἀλήμματα (ἀλείμματα), δυνατί (δυνατή), ὠσαύτος (ὠσαύτως), ὠρισμένος (ὠρισμένως), συναντιματικόν (συναντηματικόν), ὕπαντάτε (ὕπαντάται), δρουγγαροκόμηταις (δρουγγαροκόμητες) and even μί instead of μή are illustrative and typical of L. Whereas many of these must be the result of error on the part of the scribe (ταξίδειον for ταξείδιον, σωφρονίζοντα for σωφρονίζοντα at [A] 9 and [B] 75), some may be the result of local accent or simple orthographic "error". The case of μερσίνης ([C] 739) (μερσύνης L) for μυρσίνης may be evidence of a shift from -i- to -e- before a liquid and/or a vestige of a local (Constantinopolitan?) pronunciation. Similarly, the few examples of Doric -a-, in the name Salambria ([C] 690) and the adjective χρυσᾶν ([C] 754, 828, 844) may also represent vestiges of a local dialect; although scribal affectation is not to be discounted⁷⁸.

These characteristics are not typical of these texts alone, of course, but of the later ninth and tenth centuries in general. Some responsibility for the orthography must lie with the copyist(s), however. And it is significant that the orthography is so inconsistent, given that this treatise was rewritten from earlier materials (which may well have contained these mistakes and demoticisms and many more) in an imperial scriptorium at the height of the so-called Macedonian renaissance. It is perhaps a salutary reminder that even the copyists employed by a person such as Basil the *parakoimōmenos* were not party to the literary excellence aspired to by the educated élite of Byzantine society, and attained by very few.

⁷⁸ In general on the orthography of this period, see PSALTES, *Grammatik*, caps. 220—229; for double instead of single -l- in Latin loan-words, see cap. 237; and for vowel confusions, see *ibid.*, caps. 1—109; with KAHANE, *Abendland und Byzanz* 429—434; 501—525; 530—537.

J. THE EDITION

The text itself is based throughout on L, except for the better readings of M in the second half of (B). With the exception of these three pages, L is the only witness to all three texts. Variations in M are otherwise noted in the critical apparatus.

In presenting the text, and in the light of the foregoing, no attempt has been made to “correct” vulgarisms or inconsistencies in grammar and syntax; the more so since this would conceal both the nature of the work itself and distort Constantine’s own style of working⁷⁹. Errors which may be attributed to the copyist of 963—969 are noted in the apparatus. Some of the orthographic emendations made by Reiske are retained, but the original forms are likewise noted in the apparatus. Reiske’s occasional omissions and mistakes or hypercorrections are similarly noted. Punctuation and paragraphing has been supplied or emended without comment. The marginal scholia (excluding those on the manuscript made in Latin by later commentators) appear to be contemporary and part of the redactional process, being usually of an explanatory or clarificatory nature, and refer to other sections of the same text. For example, τριβοῦνος πραισεντάλιος is glossed by παρουσιαστής ([C] 670). Since they all occur in sections which were completed before Constantine’s death (see above), they were probably available as notes to the copyist of 963—969, and may have been added by Constantine to his original text. A number of inconsistencies in the last section on triumphs were not ironed out, however. Thus the form τὰ Ἡρία at (C) 727 is retained, with a scholion: *ιερίας*. It is notable that the number of scholia and orthographic errors is greater in this last section than elsewhere, suggesting that Constantine was either unable to emend this section or failed to do so.

⁷⁹ See in particular Gy. MORAVCSIK, *Tὰ συγγράμματα Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου ἀπὸ γλωσσικῆς ἀπόψεως*. *SBN* 5 (1938) 514—520; A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Observations grammaticales sur le De caerimoniis de Constantin Porphyrogénète*. *Revue philologique* 45 (1971) 240—257; and HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* I 365. Note the remarks of BURY, *Administrative System* 11, n. 1.

The scribe has used a number of abbreviations which have not been noted in the apparatus. These are all unexceptional for the period in which L belongs and give rise to no difficulties. Some examples:

μωλ ^α	—	μωλάρια
γινόμ ^ε η	—	γινόμενα
χ [~]	—	χρυσοῡ
ΛΛ	—	λίτραι
συνη ^{θθ}	—	συνηθειῶν
νο ^{οο} νν	—	νομίσματα
ίππ ^α η	—	ίππάρια
χαρτοῡ ^ο	—	χαρτουλάριος
χ	—	όμοῡ
άρχ ^{ον}	—	άρχόντων
λογ ^ο γ ^ο	—	λογοθέτης
Δ ^ο ζ	—	δομέστικος
πρα ^ι	—	πραιτωρίου
τρα ^π α	—	τραπέζης
δια ^{φφ}	—	διαφόρων
π ^θ	—	ύποθέσει

The case is usually given by the preceding definite article.

There are many others, and it is perhaps surprising that more such abbreviated forms are not employed, given the vast number of well-known technical terms and titles which occur in the texts⁸⁰.

⁸⁰ Conventions employed in the text and apparatus follow those set out in: Règles pour la publication des textes dans le Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. *Bulletin d'Information et de Coordination (Association Internat. des Études Byzantines)* 4 (1968) 28f.

K. THE TRANSLATION

In translating the three texts which follow an effort has been made to preserve, as far as possible, the style and flavour of the original. Inevitably, every text must lose something in the translating — neither the cultural milieu nor the linguistic context can be reproduced in such an exercise. The greatest problem encountered was in translating the numerous technical terms. As far as items of clothing and equipment are concerned, I have tried to employ a consistent set of English or anglicised equivalents. With regard to ranks and titles, standard anglicisations are used, together with simple nominativised transliterations — thus *komites* rather than counts, for example. This may at first sight seem confusing to those not familiar with the language of the original; but is to be justified on the grounds that the use of translated terms throughout detracts from the “Byzantine” nature of the text, and tends to introduce a tacit assumption that the English terms are semantic as well as literal equivalents for the Greek. This is never the case, and to avoid such subtle misrepresentation, I have avoided using translated terms.

L. CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

- L codex Lipsiensis Rep. I 17 (Bibl. Urb. 28)
M codex Mediceo-Laurentianus Plut. 55, 4
R. Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae
byzantinae libri duo, ed. J. J. REISKE, vol. I, text. Leipzig
1751/Bonn (*CSHB*) 1829

II. TEXTS AND TRANSLATION

A. TEXT (A):

L 1' ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΩΝ ΤΑΞΕΙΔΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ
R.444 ΑΠΛΗΚΤΩΝ

Εἰσὶ τὰ ἄπληκτα· πρῶτον ἄπληκτον εἰς τὰ Μαλάγινα, δεύτερον τὸ
Δορύλειον, τρίτον εἰς τὸ Καβόρκιν, τέταρτον εἰς Κολώνειαν, πέμπτον εἰς
5 Καισάρειαν, ἕκτον εἰς Ἀρμενιάκουσ εἰστον Δαζιμῶνα.

R.445 "Ὅτε ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Θρακησίων | καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν
ὀφείλουσιν ὑπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τὰ Μαλάγινα, ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν καὶ
ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Σελευκειᾶς ὀφείλουσιν ὑπαν-
τᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τὸ Καβόρκιν. ὅτε εἰ μὲν ἔστι τὸ ταξείδιον εἰς Ταρσόν, τὰ
10 λοιπὰ θέματα ὀφείλουσιν ἀποσωρεύεσθαι εἰς Κολώνειαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέρη
τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ὀφείλουσιν ὑπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁ μὲν Καππάδοξ καὶ ὁ Χαρσιαν-
νίτης καὶ ὁ Βουκελλάρις εἰς Κολώνειαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρμενιάκος καὶ ὁ Παφλαγῶν καὶ
ὁ Σεβαστείας εἰς Καισάρειαν. ὅτε τὰ Ἀρμενιάκα θέματα ὀφείλουσιν ἀποσω-
ρεύεσθαι εἰς Τεφρικὴν εἰς τὸν Βαθὺν Ῥύακα.

4 Δορύλειον L R. | Κολώνιαν L R. || 5 Ἀρμενιανούς R. | εἰστον L ||
6—14 ὅτε ... Βαθὺν Ῥύακα L, conl. HUXLEY, List 92:

ὅτι, ὁ στρατηγὸς Θράκης καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ὀψικιάνων ὀφείλουσιν ὑπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς
τὰ Μαλάγινα·

ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς (τῶν Θρακησίων εἰς τὸ Δορύλειον· ὁ στρατηγὸς)
τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Σελευκειᾶς ὀφείλουσιν ὑπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τὸ
Καβόρκιν.

ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ἔστι τὸ ταξείδιον εἰς Ταρσόν, τὰ λοιπὰ θέματα ὀφείλουσιν ἀποσωρεύεσθαι εἰς
Κολώνιαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ὀφείλουσιν ὑπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁ μὲν
Καππάδοξ καὶ ὁ Χαρσιαννίτης καὶ ὁ Βουκελλάρις εἰς Κολώνιαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρμενιάκος καὶ ὁ
Παφλαγῶν καὶ ὁ Σεβαστείας εἰς Καισάρειαν.

ὅτι, τὰ Ἀρμενιάκα θέματα ὀφείλουσιν ἀποσωρεύεσθαι, (εἰ) εἰς Τεφρικὴν, εἰς τὸν Βαθὺν
Ῥύακα.

9 ταξείδιον L || 10 et 12 Κολώνιαν R. || 12 Ἀρμενιανός R. || 13 Ἀρμενιανός
L R.

EXPOSITION OF IMPERIAL EXPEDITIONS AND ROSTER OF *APLĒKTA*

The *aplēkta* are: the first *aplēkton* at Malagina, the second at Dorylaion, the third at Kaborkin, the fourth at Kolōneia, the fifth at Kaisareia, the sixth at Dazimōn in the (district of the) *Armeniakoī*.

The *stratēgos* of the *Thrakēsioi* and the *stratēgos* of the *Anatolikoi* must join the emperor at Malagina. The *domestikos* of the *Scholai* and the *stratēgos* of the *Anatolikoi* and the *stratēgos* of Seleukia ought to meet the emperor at Kaborkin. If the expedition is to Tarsos, the remaining *themata* ought to assemble at Kolōneia, but if it is to the eastern regions, the *stratēgos* of Kappadokia and those of Charsianon and of the *Boukellarioi* ought to meet the emperor at Kolōneia, those of the *Armeniakoī* and of Paphlagonia and of Sebasteia at Kaisareia. The Armenian *themata* should assemble at Bathys Ryax if the expedition is to Tephrikē.

B. TEXT (B):

ΟΣΑ ΔΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΦΥΛΑΤΤΕΙΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΑΞΕΙ- ΔΕΥΕΙΝ

Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας, μέλλων ταξειδεύειν, ἐβουλεύετο τοῖς ἔχουσι τὴν
πεῖραν τῶν ἐρωτωμένων, ποῦ δεῖ ταξειδεῦσαι καὶ πότε. ἐκ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς
5 ταύτης εὐρῶν τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν καιρόν, ἡρεῦνα καί, τίνες ἄλλοι γινώσκουσι
ταῦτα, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸ ὀλίγου χρόνου, καὶ μαθῶν, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι ἔμπειροι
τούτων εἰσί, συνῆγε καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡρώτα ἰδίως καὶ ἰδίως ἕκαστον, πόση
ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ἀπάγουσα ἀπὸ τὰ οἰκούμενα εἰς τήνδε τὴν χώραν καὶ ποδαπή,
R. 446 καὶ εἰ μία ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἢ πολλαὶ αἰ εἰσάγουσαι εἰς αὐτήν, καὶ εἰ ἄνυ|δρὰ εἰσι
10 τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν χωρία ἢ ἔνυδρα, εἶτα ποία ὁδὸς ἐστὶ στενόχωρος καὶ
κρημνώδης καὶ ἐπικίνδυνος καὶ ποία πλατεῖα καὶ εὐδιάβατος, καὶ εἰ τίς ἐστὶ
L 1^v κατὰ τὴν || ὁδὸν ποταμὸς μέγας καὶ μὴ δεχόμενος πόρον. εἶτα ἡρώτα περὶ
αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας, πόσα κάστρα ἔχει, καὶ ποῖα τούτων εἰσὶν ὄχυρά καὶ ποῖα
ἀνόχυρα, καὶ ποῖα πολυάνθρωπα καὶ ποῖα ὀλιγάνθρωπα, καὶ ἀπὸ πόσου
15 διαστήματος ἀλλήλων εἰσί, καὶ ποδαπά εἰσι τὰ χωρία τὰ παρακείμενα αὐτοῖς,
μεγάλα ἢ μικρά, καὶ οἱ τόποι ὁμαλοὶ ἢ ἀνώμαλοι, βοτανηφόροι ἢ ξηροὶ· ταῦτα
δὲ ἡρώτα διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν τῶν ἵππων.

Εἶτα ἡρώτα, ποῖος λαὸς παράκειται ὁ δυνάμενος βοηθεῖν τοῖς κάστροις
ἐκείνοις ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου, καὶ ἀπὸ πόσου διαστήματός εἰσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πότε
20 εἰσὶν ἔτοιμοι εἰς ταξίδιον, καὶ πότε διεσπαρμένοι καὶ ἐπαναπαυόμενοι εἰς τὰ
ἴδια καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀσύμφραστοι, καὶ εἰς ποίους τόπους ταξειδεύουσι καὶ
πότε ἢ οὐδέποτε ταξειδεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας εἰσι πάντοτε. τὰ δὲ
αὐτὰ ἡρώτα καὶ περὶ ἄλλων χωρῶν, ἵνα ὠρισμένως μηδεὶς οἶδεν, εἰς ποίαν
χώραν βούλεται ταξειδεύειν. πολλακίς γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων μηνυθέντες οἱ
R. 447 ἐναντίοι ἠσφαλίσαντο τὰ ἴδια ἢ καὶ πρὸς παράταξιν | εὐτρεπίσθησαν.

3 Κωνσταντῖνος L || 10 et 11 ποῖα L || 13 ποῖα¹] ποῖα L || 22 πάντοτε
L, πάνποτε R. || 23 ὠρισμένος L

WHAT SHOULD BE OBSERVED WHEN THE EMPEROR INTENDS TO GO ON AN EXPEDITION

When he was intending to go on an expedition, Constantine the Great was accustomed to take counsel with those who had experience in the relevant matters, such as where and when the expedition should be undertaken. When he had ascertained from this advice the place and time for the expedition, he was also accustomed to enquire as to which others knew about these matters, particularly those with recent experience. And when he had found whether any others were knowledgeable, he summoned these also and asked each one individually how long the route was which ran from home territory to the objective, and of what sort; and whether one road or many led to the objective; and whether the regions along the route were waterless or not. And then he enquired as to which road was narrow, precipitous and dangerous, and which broad and traversible; also whether there was any great river along the way which could not be crossed. Next he enquired about the country: how many fortresses it possessed, which were secure and which insecure, which populous and which sparsely populated, what distance these fortresses were from one another; and of what sort were the villages about them, large or small, and whether these regions were level or rough, grassy or arid. He asked this on account of fodder for the horses.

Then he enquired as to which army was available to support these fortresses in time of war, and at what distance they lay from them, when they were ready to go on campaign, and when dispersed and at rest at their homes, not anticipating war; further, in which places they campaign and when, or whether they never campaign, but remain always in the same region. But he asked the same questions also about other lands, so that no-one would know definitely in which region he intended to campaign. For often, being given information from among such advisers, the enemy secured their borders or prepared themselves for battle.

26 Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐρωτήσας καὶ μαθῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτοῖς ἐγγράφως δοῦναι
 αὐτῶ τὰ ἀπληκτα καὶ τὰ διαστήματα αὐτῶν, καὶ πόσου λαοῦ ἔστιν ἡ χώρασις
 αὐτῶν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἀπασῶν ἀποκρίσεων μαθῶν, ὅτι ἀκίνδυνός ἐστιν ἡ ὁδὸς
 καὶ ὅτι δυνατὴ ἔστιν ἡ ἔκβασις τοῦ ταξειδίου καὶ ὅτι ἔνδοξόν ἐστι τὸ ταξειδίον
 30 ·κί βασιλέως παρουσίας ἄξιον, καὶ ὅτι συμμαχίαν ὁ τόπος οὐ δέχεται, ἢ
 δέχεται μὲν, κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον οὐ δέχεται, καθ' ὃν μέλλουσι ταξειδεύ-
 ειν, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς ταῦτα διδάσκοντας εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπαναμνησκοντας
 καὶ διδάσκοντας τὰ λείποντα.

Ἐπελαμβάνετο δὲ τῆς φροντίδος τοῦ ταξειδίου, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐπέτρεπε
 L 2^ο τοῖς στρατηγοῖς κεφάλαια ταῦτα · πρῶτον μὲν, ἀμφιᾶσαι || καὶ ἀσφαλίσασθαι
 36 τὰ κάστρα · δεύτερον δέ, ἐπιστῆσαι ἄνδρας ἐπιτηδείους εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἵνα εἰ
 συμβῆ ἔλθειν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐχθροῦς, αὐτοὶ ἐκσηλεύσωσι τὸν λαὸν καὶ
 ἀπάγουσιν εἰς τὰ ὀχυρώματα · τρίτον, ἀμφιᾶσαι τὸν στρατὸν τὰ δέοντα καὶ
 δυνατὰ περὶ τε ὄπλα καὶ ἵππους · τέταρτον, ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὰς βίβλας τοῦ
 40 σπουδάζειν μανθάνειν τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀναφέρειν αὐτά · πέμπτον, εὐτρεπί-
 R. 448 ζεσθαι καὶ πρὸς γεφύρας, ἔνθα ὁ στρατὸς μέλλει διαβιβάζεσθαι καὶ ἔνθα
 πόρον ὁ ποταμὸς οὐκ ἔχει · ἕκτον, παραγγέλλειν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἵνα
 τοὺς ἀπομένοντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταβαγείαν, ἕως τινὸς μὲν χρόνου ἐλαύ-
 νωσιν εἰς τὸ ταξειδίον, μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν τὸν λαόν, ἵνα κρύπτωσιν αὐτοὺς
 45 δεσμίους.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν χρόνον τοῦ ταξειδίου καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὀρίσας καὶ πρὸς
 τὸν χρόνον ἐπιλογισάμενος τὸ χρῆμα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην βασιλικὴν χρεῖαν, ἐπ-
 ἔτρεπε τῶ τε σακελλαρίῳ καὶ τῶ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ καὶ τῶ μινσουράτορι καὶ
 τῶ δομειστικῷ τῆς ὑπουργίας, ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπηρεσίαν, κατὰ τὸν
 50 ὀρισθέντα χρόνον ἀπαριθμῆσαι τὰ φορτώματα, πόσων σαγμαρίων εἰσὶ, καὶ
 τούτων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀναδιδάξαι. λαβῶν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σαγμαρίων καὶ
 προσλαβῶν καὶ ἄλλην προσθήκην διὰ τε τὰ χωλευόμενα καὶ τὰ κονδριζόμενα
 αὐτῶν, ἐπέτρεπε τῶ τε κόμητι τοῦ στάβλου καὶ τῶ λογοθέτῃ τῶν ἀγγελῶν
 συστῆσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σαγμαρίων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἵππαρίων καὶ
 55 ἄλλων τινῶν ἵππων, ὅσα ἂν ἐβουλήθη εἰς τὸ κίνημα δοῦναι οἷς αὐτὸς ἐκέλευεν,
 ὁμοίως καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, οἷον στρατιώταις, πρόσφυξιν, ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς
 ὁμοίοις.

27 χώρασις L || 29 δυνατὴ L || 35 ἀσφαλίσασθαι L || 43 καταβάγειαν
 R. || 46 καθ' ἑαυτὸν R. || 48 μινσουράτωρι L R.

And so, when he had asked all these things and learnt (what was necessary), he permitted them to give him in writing the names of the fortresses and the distances between them and how many men they could support. And having learnt from all these replies that the road was safe, that the return march of the expedition was possible, that the expedition was glorious and worthy of the emperor's presence, and that the district in question received no support or, if it did, that it received none during the period in which they intended to mount the expedition, he kept those who informed of these matters with him, to remind him and to inform of the details still lacking.

He took pains over the expedition, and first of all entrusted the *stratēgoi* with the following duties: first, to fit out and to secure the fortresses; second, to despatch suitable men into the country, so that, if it should happen that enemies should enter the land, they might evacuate the population and bring them into the strongholds; third, to equip the army with everything necessary with regard to weapons and horses; fourth, to ensure that the scouts were diligent in learning about enemy affairs and in reporting back on them; fifth, to be prepared for bridging operations where the army intends to cross and where the river has no ford; sixth, to charge the civil authorities that those soldiers remaining absent without leave be allowed to join the expedition up to a certain time; but that after the army has set off, let them bind them and imprison them.

The emperor himself determined the date of the expedition personally and, when he had reckoned up the funds and other imperial requirements nearer the time, he commissioned the *sakellarios*, the *prōtovesiarios*, the *minsouratōr* and the *domestikos* of the household service, each in his own department, to count up at the stated time the loads and the number of pack-animals required, and to report their number. And taking the number of pack-animals, and adding to it a supplement to take account of lame and injured animals, he ordered the *komēs* of the stable and the *logothetēs* of the herds to make a grand total of the animals; and in addition, the total of the imperial pack-horses and any other horses which the emperor might wish to give at the start of the expedition to those whom he commands, and likewise to those during the expedition, such as soldiers, refugees, titled persons, and similar.

- R. 449* Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ πάντα διοικήσας, ὥριζε τὸν ἐκ προσώπου | αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει
καὶ ἐδίδου αὐτῷ διατάξεις ταύτας· ἀπαριθμῆσαι τὸν λαόν, ὅσοι τε ὑπὸ τὰ
M 1' τάγματά εἰσι τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅσοι ὑπὸ τὸν ὑπαρχον, καὶ τούτους προ||ορίζειν
61 καθεαυτὸν, ἐν ποίῳ μέρει ἕκαστον τούτων τῶν συστημάτων φυλάξει τὴν
L 2" πόλιν ἐν || καιρῷ ἐπιδημίας ἐχθρῶν· ἀνορθοῦν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν τειχῶν κλάσματα
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ δύσεως ἐρχόμενα μανδάτα καταμηνύειν, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς
τὰ οἰκούμενα παρέλθῃ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ μὲν σπουδαῖα καὶ κίνδυνον σύντομον
65 ἀπειλοῦντα διοικεῖν αὐτόν, καθὼς ἂν νομίση συμφέρον εἶναι, βουλευόμενον
μετὰ τῶν χρησιμωτέρων τῆς πόλεως· τὰ δὲ μηδεμίαν σπουδὴν ἔχοντα, ἀλλ'
εὐτελεῖ ὄντα καὶ φανερά, διοικεῖν, τὰ δὲ μεγάλης φροντίδος δεόμενα ὑποκρα-
τεῖν μέχρι τῆς ὑποστροφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως· προσέχειν δὲ μάλιστα περὶ αἰφνιδίου
ἐπιδημίας ἐχθρῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα γράφειν τε συνεχῶς καὶ δέχεσθαι
70 ἐκ τῶν ἄκρων θεμάτων, καὶ κατασκοπεῖν τὰ τῶν γειτόνων ἐχθρῶν, καὶ
μανθάνειν καὶ ἀναδιδάσκειν· ἔτι γε μὴν καθεαυτὸν φροντίζειν περὶ ὄπλων,
ὅθεν ἔξει αὐτὰ ἐν καιρῷ χρείας· ταῦτα δὲ λογίζεσθαι καθεαυτὸν καὶ ἐτοιμά-
ζεσθαι χωρὶς ταραχῆς, ἵνα μὴ φόβον ἐμβάλλῃ τῇ πόλει καὶ πολυτιμότερον
R. 450 κατα|στήσῃ τὸν σῆτον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν εἰδῶν· κατασιγᾶν δὲ τὰς ἀλόγους
75 φήμας καὶ τὰς ταραχάς, ποτὲ μὲν σωφρονίζοντα τοὺς τὰς φήμας γεννῶντας,
ποτὲ δὲ ἐπιλαλεῖν τοῖς πολίταις τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίαν·
ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ πλάττειν ἀγαθὰς φήμας ὡς κελύσεως ἐλθούσης πλὴν ἀορίστως,
ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἀπὸ τινος τοῦ λαοῦ ἐλθόντων, τῶν μὲν τὴν ῥαθυμίαν, τῶν δὲ τὰς
ταραχὰς παύοντα.

- 80 Οὕτω δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων τῷ ἐκ προσώπου διαταξάμενος ὁ Ἰούλιος
Καῖσαρ, ὀλίγους τῆς τάξεως ὑποκρατήσας λόγῳ τῆς ἰδίας ἐξέδου, τοὺς
λοιποὺς ἀπέστειλεν, ἔνθα τὰ τάγματα τὸν βασιλέα ἐξεδέχοντο, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς
τούτοις καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀλόγων καὶ φορτωμάτων καὶ τὰς
μεγίστας σκηνάς. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς γνωστούς τῶν ἀγίων συναγωγῶν περὶ καθάρ-
85 σεως ἡτεῖτο ψυχικῆς, εἶτα ἐλεημοσύνας ἐποίει κατὰ τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ
L 3' πλησιάζοντα αὐτῇ. καὶ τελευταῖον ἀπερχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς ναοὺς || χάριν
εὐχῆς, ἐν οἷς ἐποιεῖτο μάλιστα τὰς προελεύσεις, καὶ ὑποστρέφων ἐπὶ τὸ

61 καθ' ἑαυτὸν L M R. || 65 καθῶς L, καθὼς M || 69 συχῶς M || 70
ἐκ τὰ ἄκρα θέματα M | καὶ¹ om. M || 71, 72 καθ' ἑαυτὸν L M R. || 73 ἐμβάλλῃ
L, ἐμβάλλῃ M || 75 σωφρονίζοντα M, σωφρονίζοντα L || 78—79 τῶν μὲν τὴν ῥαθυμίαν
παύοντα, τῶν δὲ τὰς ταραχάς. οὕτως ... M || 85 ἡτεῖτο L, ἡτεῖτο M

When he had dealt with all these matters, he appointed his representative in the City, and gave him the following orders: to count up the troops, both those under the authority of the *tagmata* of the City and those under the Eparch, and to assign them in advance, according to his own wishes, in which area each of these groups should guard the City in time of enemy attack; to repair the damaged sections of the walls, and to forward news reports coming from the West, until the emperor should himself pass back into home territory. Afterwards, he should attend to those serious matters which threatened immediate danger, in whatever manner he considered advantageous, taking counsel with the most appropriate men of the City. He was himself to deal with those matters which were of no importance, since they were not significant and were straightforward; but he was to put aside until the emperor's return those matters which demanded great care. He was to guard against sudden attacks by the enemy in particular, and in this connection was constantly to write to and receive reports from the border *themata*, and to keep an eye on neighbouring hostile peoples, to learn and to report. Furthermore, he was personally to pay attention to weapons, and whence he should procure them in time of need. He was to take these matters into account in person, and to be prepared in advance without fuss so as not to inspire fear in the City, and hence encourage corn and the other necessities to become dearer. He should also suppress foolish rumours and disturbances, sometimes punishing those responsible for spreading the rumours, sometimes reassuring the citizens on the safety of the emperor and the army. Occasionally he should invent good rumours, such as that an imperial order has arrived, but without giving details; or alternatively that an order has come with a member of the expedition, the former stemming indifference, the latter the disturbances.

When he had thus instructed his representative in these matters, and keeping back a few of the retinue for his own departure, Julius Caesar sent the remainder to where the *tagmata* awaited the emperor, and along with them most of the imperial horses and the baggage and the great tents. And having gathered together the holy men closest to him, he craved for spiritual purification, and then gave alms throughout the City and the neighbouring districts. Finally, visiting the churches in order to pray, in particular those in which he was a participant in the holy processions, he returned to

παλάτιον, ἐκεῖθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐξήρχετο, καὶ πολλοῦ λαοῦ, τῶν τε ὑπὸ τὸν
R. 451 ὑπαρχον καὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως στρατοῦ παρόντων ἐκεῖ καὶ εὐχομένων τὸν |
M 1^r βασιλέα. τελευταῖον δὲ μετὰ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον οἱ || μὲν
 91 παριστάμενοι πάντες ἔπιπτον, αὐτὸς δέ, τρίτον σφραγίσας τὴν πόλιν, ἐκίνει.

Ἡρίστα δέ, ἄχρι τοῦ συνοψισθῆναι τὸν λαόν, διὰ τριῶν, ἐδείπνει δὲ διὰ
 δύο πλὴν τῆς κυριακῆς· ἀκίνητος δὲ ἔμενε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. φθάνοντα δὲ
 αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ὑπήντων αὐτῷ οἱ προλαβόντες τῆς τάξεως καὶ τὰ
 95 τάγματα ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως οὕτω συνείποντο
 ἄχρι τῆς κορτίνος. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάλει τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐδίδου
 αὐτοῖς ἀποκόμβιν καὶ μαῖουμᾶν τοῖς στρατιώταις. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ
 κινουῖντα τὸν βασιλέα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ ταξειδίου, ἕκαστον θέμα ὑπήντα αὐτῷ
 κατὰ τὸ πλησιάζον μέρος τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ κοπιᾷ ὁ λαός· ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ,
 100 καθῆν ἐδέχετο αὐτὸν τὸ θέμα, ἐκάλει τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέματος.

Τὴν δὲ χρεῖαν τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπηρεσίας, τουτέστι σφακτά τε καὶ ἀρνία καὶ
 τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὸ ψωμίον τῆς φιλοτιμίας καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν μαῖουμᾶν, ἐχορήγει
 ἕκαστος πρωτονοτάριος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ θέματι διερχόμενον τὸν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ
 ἀερικοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν συνωνῶν· ἢ καὶ μὴ ἔχων, λαμβάνων ἐκ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ,
R. 452 αὐτὸς διώκει ταῦτα, μάλιστα δὲ | τοὺς μαῖουμάδας ἐδίδου τοῖς ἐκ μακροτέρων
 106 τόπων ἐρχομένοις θέμασιν.

Ἡ δὲ προέλευσις τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἡ τάξις τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ τῶν θεμά-
 των ἦν οὕτως· περιεπάτου ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίου ἵπποι μετὰ
 ἀληθινῶν βορκαδίων διὰ στίχων δύο, δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερά· μετ' ἐκείνους δὲ οἱ
 110 βασιλικοὶ ἄρχοντες· εἶτα οἱ στρατορες μετὰ σελλαρίων καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ μυστικω-
 τέρα τάξις· ἔπειτα ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὀπισθεν δὲ τούτου ὡς ἀπὸ σαγιττοβόλων
L 3^v τριῶν ὡσπερ κατὰ μίαν || εὐθείαν τὰ στρατεύματα. καὶ μέσον μὲν τὰ τάγματα,
 καὶ τούτων τὰ τιμωτέρα ἐπὶ τὸν μέσον τόπον, παρ' ἐκάτερα δὲ τῶν ταγμάτων

89 ἔπαρχον M || 93 φθάζοντα M || 95 καὶ οὕτως μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως συνείποντο
 M || 97 post ἀποκόμβιν ante καί: ἐδίδου δὲ M || 98 κινούμενον M || 99
 κοποῦται M || 100 καθ' ἣν M R. || 101 post τε ante καί: ς (= καί) L || 104
 ἀερίου L R. | συνωνῶν L R. | ἰδικοῦ M || 105 διώκει L M || 109 μετὰ

the palace and thence departed the City. And a great host, both from among the staff of the Eparch and from the army of the City, were present there and prayed for the emperor. And at last, after he had gone on board ship, all those standing about fell to the ground, while as he set off he made the sign of the cross three times towards the City.

Until he reviewed the army, he broke his fast each day with three table guests, and dined with two, except on Sundays. For he remained stationary on that day. When he came up with the army, those of the retinue who had set out in advance, and the *tagmata*, met him at the perimeter of the *aplēkton*; and thus with the emperor they proceeded together as far as the imperial pavilion. On the same day, he called the officers to him, and granted them a purse of gold, and a feast for the soldiers. From there, the emperor proceeded with the army along the expeditionary route, each *thema* meeting him at a point near to the line of march, so that the army might not tire. And on the same day on which each *thema* met him, he summoned the officers of the same *thema*.

When the emperor passed through, each *prōtonotarios* supplied the requirements of the imperial cortège from the *aerikon* and the *synōnē* in his *thema*, that is: animals for slaughter, lambs, and such like, and the provisions for the largesses and the remaining feasts. If he cannot supply all this, then he takes it from the *eidikon*, and administers these matters himself, issuing rations for feasts in particular to those *themata* which have travelled farthest.

The retinue of the emperor and the order of *tagmata* and *themata* was as follows: in front of the emperor, at a distance of one mile, went horses with purple brocades, in two files to right and left. After them came the imperial *archontes*; then came the *stratores* with saddled horses and the rest of the emperor's personal cortège; and then the emperor. Behind him, at a distance of three bowshots, as if in a straight line, the troops. In the centre were the *tagmata*, the most honoured being in the middle; and on either side of the *tagmata*

τὰ θέματα, καὶ τούτων πλησιέστερα τοῖς τάγμασι τὰ ἐνδοξότερα τῶν θεμά-
115 των.

Οἱ δὲ τὰ ἄπληκτα καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς τῆς ἡμετέρας γῆς κατέχοντες καὶ
γινώσκοντες οἱ μὲν προελάμβανον μετὰ τῆς κόρτης καὶ τῆς ὑπουργίας, οἱ δὲ
ἔμπροσθεν τῶν θεμάτων προέτρεχον ὑποδεικνύοντες τοὺς τῶν ποταμῶν πό-
ρους καὶ τὰς εὐθείας ὁδοὺς. τοὺς δὲ ὁδηγοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον θέμα κατεῖχεν ὁ

M 2' δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης· || ὑπῆρχον δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὸν καὶ αἱ παραμοναὶ τῶν
121 στρατηγῶν πρὸς τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ μηνύειν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὰ κελευόμενα αὐτοῖς.

R. 453 Ἡ δὲ πρώτη δοχὴ ἐκάστου θέματος ἦν οὕτως· ἀπὸ | δύο καὶ τριῶν
σαγιτοβόλων τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἴστατο παρατεταγμένον τὸ θέμα· ἐπειδὴν
δὲ εἶδον τὸν βασιλέα πλησιάζοντα, ὁ μὲν στρατὸς ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων, οἱ
125 δὲ ἄρχοντες, καταβάντες πάντες, ἐπὶ γῆς ἴσως ἐπιπτον, εἶτα ἀναστάντες μετὰ
παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ εὐφῆμουν τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξένευε, καὶ ὅπως
ἔχουσι, ἠρώτα, καὶ οὕτως πάλιν ὑπέστρεφεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδόν. αὕτη δὲ ἡ
κατάστασις ἦν αὐτῶ ἄχρι τῶν οἰκουμένων. μέλλων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀοίκητα
εἰσέρχεσθαι, ἀπεβάλλετο τό τε περισσότερον χρῆμα καὶ τὰ φορτώματα καὶ
130 τοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ ἀσθενεστέρους καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀλόγων χωλὰ καὶ τετραυματισμένα.
ἐδίδου δὲ αὐτοῖς κεφαλὴν καὶ μέρος ὀλίγον στρατοῦ εἰς φυλακὴν, ἐκέλευέ τε
πλησιάζειν καθ' ἓν τῶν ἀσφαλεστέρων κάστρων, ὅπερ πλησιέστερόν ἐστι πρὸς
τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔξοδον τοῦ λαοῦ γίνεσθαι.

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὠρίζεν ἀπὸ τῶν θεμάτων μοίρας τινάς, τοὺς μὲν προπο-
135 ρεῦσθαι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ φοσσάτου πρὸς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ ὀπισθεν
L 4' ἐπακολουθεῖν, οὓς καλοῦσι νωτοφύλακας· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπῆρχον καὶ θη||ρευταὶ
τῶν διὰ δειλὴν ἢ ῥαθυμίαν στρεφομένων· οἱ δὲ παρ' ἐκάτερα περιεπάτουν,
R. 454 οὓς ἐκάλουν πλαγιοφύλακας· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ μάλι|στα ἐσκόπουν τοὺς μέλλοντας
προσφεύγειν εἰς τοὺς ἐχθρούς.

140 Περιεπάτουν δὲ πάντες τοσοῦτον ἀπέχοντες τοῦ φοσσάτου, ὥστε μὴ
ἀποκρύπτεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν διὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ὅσον δυνατὸν
ἐστι προευτρεπισθῆναι τὸ φοσσάτον εἰς ἀπάντησιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπὸ τούτων
μηνυθέντας. οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προτρέχοντες ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ὑπῆρχον τοῦ

118—119 τοὺς πόρους τῶν ποταμῶν *M* || 120 βίγλας *M* | ὑπ' αὐτῶν *L*, ὑπ'
αὐτῶ *R.* || 121 δι' αὐτῶν *M* || 123 σαγιτοβόλων *L M* || 125 καταβάντες
ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πάντες ἴσως ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπιπτον *M* || 126—127 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐξένευσεν
ὡς πρὸς αὐτούς, ἠρώτα δὲ καὶ ὅπως ἔχουσι· *M* || 130 τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους τοῦ λαοῦ

the *themata*, with the more distinguished of them nearest the *tagmata*.

Of those who secured and were familiar with the *aplēkta* and the roads of our land, some go on ahead with the household and retinue, others precede the *themata*, pointing out the river crossings and the straight roads. The *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* has charge of the guides in each *thema*; and the attendants of the *stratēgoi* are also under his command, so that he can pass on to the latter their orders.

The first reception of each *thema* was as follows: the *thema* took up position two to three bowshots from the emperor's route. When they saw the emperor approach, the army remained mounted on their horses, while the officers, dismounting, fell upon the ground. Then, standing up again, they cheered the emperor with the whole army. He approaches them and asks how they are, and returns once more to the road. This ceremony was observed by the emperor as long as he remained on Roman soil. When he intended to march into deserted country, however, he discarded the superfluous supplies and baggage, and the less fit members of the expedition, along with the lame and injured beasts. He appointed a commander for them, and seconded a small detachment of the main army as a guard, and ordered them to march to one of the most secure fortresses, one which was nearer to the intended withdrawal-point of the army.

After this he issued orders to selected thematic detachments, some to go ahead of the army as a vanguard, others to follow on behind, known as the rearguard. These latter were also hunters of those who turned back out of cowardice or idleness; others patrolled on either side, referred to as flank-guards; and these looked out in particular for those intending to desert to the enemy.

All these detachments patrolled at such a distance from the main force as not to be cut off from them by the ambushes of the enemy, yet, as far as was possible, so that the army should be warned in advance of the approach of the enemy, having been informed by these scouts. Those going on ahead of the emperor were

M | και τὰ ἄλογα τὰ χωλὰ καὶ τὰ τετραυματισμένα M || 131 μέρος ὀλίγον M R.,
μέρος ὀλίγου L || 131—133 καὶ ἐκέλευε πλησιάζειν καθὲν τῶν ἀσφαλεστέρων κάστρων,
ὅπερ πλησιέστερόν ἐστι τῶν κάστρων πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔξοδον τοῦ λαοῦ γίνεσθαι M ||
134 ὄριζεν L || 143 προτρέχοντες M, προέχοντες L R.

θέματος, οἱ ἐπλησίαζον τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γῆ διὰ τὸ καὶ πείραν ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τῶν
 145 τε ὁδῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τόπων τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ἔτι τὴν πείραν τῶν ἐνεδρευμά-
 των καὶ τῶν πολέμων αὐτῶν. αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας οὐκ ἤλλασσον·
 τοὺς δὲ πλαγιοφύλακας ἐνήλλασσον διὰ τὸν πλεῖστον κόπον· οὐ γὰρ τὴν εὐθείαν
 περιεπάτουν αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ τὴν τραχυτέραν καὶ δυσεπίβατον. οὕτω δὲ κινούμε-
 νοι, τὰς νύκτας περιχαρακωθέντες καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀσφάλειαν ποιήσαντες διὰ
 150 τοὺς νυκτοπολέμους, ἀνεπαύοντο.

Τέλος

144 τῇ γῆ τῶν ἐχθρῶν **M** || 145 ἄλλων **M** || 146—147 ὀπισθοφύλακας ...
 κόπον **M**, ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐνήλλαττον διὰ τὸν πλεῖστον κόπον **L R**. || 151 τέλος *add.*
man. post. L, abest M, om. R.

preferably from that *thema* which bordered enemy country, since they had experience of the roads and strongpoints of the enemy, and of their ambuscades and ways of making war. They did not change (the duties) of these men and (those of) the rearguard; but they did relieve the flank-guards, on account of the excessive toil involved, since they did not take the direct route, but rather a rough one, difficult to pass. And advancing in this manner, they took rest within a defensive ditch at night, seeing to other security measures against nocturnal incursions.

End

C. TEXT (C):

L 4^v ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΑΙΩΝΙΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΩ-
R. 455 ΜΑΙΩΝ, ΥΙΟΥ ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΟΙΔΙΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΒΑ-
ΣΙΛΕΩΣ, ΑΠΟΓΟΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΙΚΩΤΑΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟ-
5 ΣΤΕΦΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ

ΟΣΑ ΔΕΙ ΓΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΥΨΗΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΤΩΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΦΟΣΣΑΤΕΥΣΑΙ

Ἄκουε, υἱέ, λόγους πατρός σου, Σολομῶν σοι παρακελεύεται· παρὰ
πολλῶν γάρ ἀκούσεις τὰ δέοντα, ἀλλ' οὐ φύσει τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰσίοσεις διδάγ-
10 ματα, εἰ μὴ παρὰ πατρός ἀκούσῃς τὰ ἄριστα. γνησίους γάρ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἀληθεῖς τῷ ὄντι τοὺς λόγους ὑποδεξάμενος, ὥσπερ τινὰ κληρον ἔξεις πατρῶον,
τὴν σωτηρίαν αἰεὶ προξενούντά σοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλων κατὰ χάριν λεγόμενοι
R. 456 τῆς ἀληθείας πολλάκις ἐναποδέχονται· οἱ δὲ ἐκ πατρικῆς ψυχῆς μετὰ τῆς
ἀληθείας ἀφικνούμενοι πολλὴν χαρίζονται τοῖς υἱοῖς διαπαντός τὴν ὠφέλειαν.
15 ἄκουε τοίνυν, υἱέ, παρὰ πατρός, ἃ μὴ καλὸν ἐστὶν ἀγνοεῖν· εἰ γὰρ ἄγνοια
κακόν, ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων γινῶσις δῆλον ὅτι καλόν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀναγκαίων
καὶ ὧν πολλὴ καθέστηκε ἡ φροντίς. ἀναγκαιότερον δὲ τί ἄλλο γένοιτο πολε-
μικῆς εὐτολμίας καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων παλαιᾶς εὐταξίας, ἣν ἐν πολέμοις εἶχον
τὸ πρότερον βασιλικοῖς ταξειδίοις κατάστασιν;

20 Ταύτην γὰρ πάλαι φημιζομένην καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν παρὰ πολλοῖς θρυλλου-
μένην μὴ καὶ ἐγγράφως ἔχειν, οὐ δίκαιον οὐδὲ καλὸν ἡγησάμεθα. λυσιτελῆς
γάρ σοι, θεόστεπτε Ῥωμανέ, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἡ τούτων γενήσεται
συγγραφή, Ῥωμαϊκὴν δηλοῦσα μεγαλειότητα.

Ἄθεν πολλὰ περὶ τούτων ἀνερευνήσαντες καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπόμνησιν ἐνα-
25 ποκειμένην τῷ παλατίῳ εὐρίσκοντες, ὁψέ καὶ μόλις ποτὲ περὶ τούτων
ὑπόμνημα ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ καλουμένη Σιγριανῆς εὐρεῖν ἠδυνήθημεν, ἐν ἣ Ἰεὼν
L 5^r ὁ μάγιστρος, || ζ Κατάκυλας ἦν ἐπώνυμον, τὸν μονήρη βίον ἠσπάσατο. οὗτος

CONSTANTINE, EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS IN CHRIST
THE ETERNAL KING, SON OF LEO THE MOST WISE EM-
PEROR OF BLESSED MEMORY, DESCENDANT OF BASIL
THE MOST COURAGEOUS AND MOST BRAVE EMPEROR,
TO RŌMANOS, GOD-CROWNED EMPEROR, HIS SON

WHAT SHOULD BE OBSERVED WHEN THE GREAT AND HIGH EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS GOES ON CAMPAIGN

Listen, son, to the words of your father, Solomon exhorts you. For you will hear about duties from many, but you will not reap the lessons of virtue by nature alone unless you hear the best things from your father. For when you have accepted his words as genuinely truthful, you will have what amounts to a paternal legacy, always promoting your salvation. For the words of others, spoken for favours, often lack truth; whereas those from a father's heart, being honest, bestow upon their sons perpetual advantage. Listen, therefore, son, to your father, whose advice it is not good to ignore; for if ignorance is bad, it is clear that a knowledge of practical matters is good, and most especially of those things touching upon the affairs of the state, to which much care has been devoted. For what could be more important than courage in warfare and the ancient discipline of our forefathers, the order of things to which they held formerly in imperial wartime expeditions?

Now this subject has been reported upon in past times and discussed by many up to the present day, but it has not been contained in writing, a fact which we have held to be neither just nor good. And so it is profitable for you, divinely-crowned Romanos, that there should be a compendium containing these matters, along with others, which demonstrates the greatness of the Romans.

Hence, having completed a great deal of research, yet finding no memorandum deposited in the palace, we were at last just able to discover one which dealt with these matters in the monastery called Sigrianē, in which Leo the *magistros*, named Katakylas, had embraced the monastic life. For this *magistros* committed these things to writing by order of Leo the Christ-loving and most wise emperor

γὰρ ὁ μάγιστρος περὶ τούτων ἐγγράφως διέθετο ἐκ προστάξεως Λέοντος τοῦ
R. 457 φιλοχρίστου καὶ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων, τοῦ καὶ πατρός ἡμῶν καὶ
 30 σοῦ πάππου. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μούσης Ἑλληνικῆς ἀμέτοχος ὁ μάγιστρος ἦν, πολλὰ
 βάρβαρά τε καὶ σόλοικα καὶ ἄσυνταξίας ἢ τούτου συγγραφή περιεῖχεν, εἰ καὶ
 ὁ ἄνθρωπος θεοσεβῆς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἦν τῶν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὡς ἔδειξεν
 ὁ αὐτοῦ βίος. ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἀμοιρεῖν αὐτόν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ
 ἢ τούτου συγγραφή μᾶλλον ὑπῆρχεν ἐπισφαλῆς καὶ ἐπιλήψιμος, ὅμως ἐπαι-
 35 νετὴ καὶ ἀληθῆς τῷ θεοσεβῆ εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐνάρετον. ταύτην ἡμεῖς
 εὐρόντες παρημελημένην τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ὡς ἐν ἴχνει σκιαῶς ἀμυδρῶς πως τὰ
 πράγματα διαγγέλλουσιν καὶ μηδὲ τὸ τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῶν, ὧν περ ἡμεῖς
 πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερόν τε καὶ πλατικώτερον μετηγάγομεν, ἔχουσιν, συνεγραψά-
 μεθ' αὖ σοι τοῦ καταλιπεῖν εἰς ὑπόμνησιν.

40 Ἡ τοίνυν τοιαύτη τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων τάξις τε καὶ ἀκολουθία
 ἐφυλάττετο καὶ ἐνηργεῖτο ἕως Μιχαὴλ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότη καὶ Βάρδα
 τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου καίσαρος καὶ θείου αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιότερων βασιλέων
 ἢ τοιαύτη δηλονότι παράδοσις πρὸς αὐτοὺς καταχθεῖσα, Θεοφίλου τε καὶ
 Μιχαὴλ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πάππου τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότη ·
 45 ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων φημὶ τὴν τοιαύτην παρά-
R. 458 δωσιν κατελθεῖν. παλαιότερους δὲ φημὶ τοὺς Ἰσαύρους ἐκεῖνοὺς καὶ περὶ τὴν
 ὁρθόδοξον πίστιν τὰ μέγιστα πλημμελήσαντας · οὐ γάρ, παλαιότερους εἰπὼν,
 τὸν μέγαν ἐκεῖνον λέγω καὶ αἰοίδιμον καὶ ἅγιον Κωνσταντῖνον, οὔτε Κωνσταν-
 50 τῖνον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, οὔτε τὸν δυσσεβέστατον Ἰουλιανόν, οὔτε μὴν Θεοδόσιον
 τὸν μέγαν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκεῖνον. ἦν δὲ καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ ἀνδρικοτά-
 του καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως, τοῦ καὶ πάππου, ἢ τοιαύτη τάξις ἐνεργουμένη
L 5' καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τηρουμένη, καθὼς ἐγγράφως ἡμεῖς || ἐκθέσθαι ὡς οἶόν τε
 πειρασόμεθα.

Ἄλλοτε καὶ ὁ μέγας καὶ ὑψηλὸς αὐτοκράτωρ μέλλων φοσσατεύειν καὶ κατ' ἐχθρῶν
 55 ὅπλα κινεῖν καὶ στρατεύματα, εὐθύς προστάσσει τοῦ κρεμασθῆναι ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ
 ἕξωθεν τῶν πυλῶν λαρίκιον καὶ σπαθίον καὶ σκουτάριον. ἐκ τούτων οὖν τοῖς
 πᾶσι γίνεται δῆλη ἢ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ φοσσάτου εὐτρέπεις, καὶ ἐκ τότε ἕκαστος
 ἄρχων καὶ ἀρχόμενος τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὅπλα καὶ ὅσα ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἀρμόζοντα
 στρατιωτῆ παρασκευάζειν ἀπάρχεται · εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ τῶν ἀγγελῶν
 60 λογοθέτῃ προστάσσει τοῦ δικαίαν διανομήν τε καὶ ἔκθεσιν μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ

of the Romans, our father and your grandfather; but since the *magistros* was unaccomplished in Hellenic letters, his book contains many barbarisms and solecisms and lapses of syntax, even though the man was devout and most desirous of the things of the spirit, as his life showed. But in that he did not partake of Hellenic learning, as we have said, his compilation was somewhat weak and misleading; nevertheless it was praiseworthy and accurate insofar as the man was pious and virtuous. Since we found this work composed in a negligent fashion, therefore, setting matters forth indistinctly as though in the footprints of a phantom, so to speak, and not even equalling a third part of that which we have conveyed for the sake of greater clarity and greater detail, we have written these things down for you in order to bequeath them as a memorandum and guide.

Now an order and procedure for imperial expeditions such as the aforementioned was observed and put into practice up until the time of Michael the Christ-loving Despot and of Bardas his uncle, the most fortunate *Kaisar*, this tradition clearly having been handed down to them from the preceeding emperors, that is to say Theophilos and Michael, the father and grandfather of the same Michael the Christ-loving Despot. Which is to say that such a tradition came down to them in the same way from the earlier emperors. By “earlier”, I mean those Isaurians who fell into the gravest error with regard to the Orthodox faith; I do not mean by “earlier” the great and famed and holy Constantine, nor Constantius his son, nor the most impious Julian, nor even Theodosius the Great and those who came after him. This very procedure was again put into practice during the reign of Basil the most courageous and most pious emperor, my grandfather, and was precisely observed in the manner which we shall endeavour, as far as is possible, to demonstrate in writing.

When the great and high emperor is about to go on an expedition and to mobilise arms and troops against the enemy, he orders first of all that a *lōrikion* and a sword and shield should be hung up on the Chalkē, outside the gates. From this, the preparation of an imperial expedition is made clear to all, and from this moment each officer and soldier begins to prepare his weapons and such things as are necessary and required of a soldier. Then, after this had taken place, he orders the *logothetēs* of the herds that a fair distribution and rationing (of baggage animals) from the *mitata* of Asia and

ποιεῖσθαι καὶ πάσης εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀληθείας τοῖς τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας
 μητάτοις κατὰ τὴν ἰσχύν τε καὶ δύναμιν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου μητάτου, ὡς ἡ τάξις τῶν
 προκειμένων ἐκάστου τὸν ὀφειλόμενον ἀριθμὸν ὠρισμένως ἔχουσα πᾶσι καθ-
R. 459 ἴσταται πρόδηλος. διὰ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας μωλάρια | σ' ἀνὰ νομισμάτων ιε',
 65 ἰπάρια σ' ἀνὰ νομισμάτων ιβ', ὁμοῦ νομίσματα, ευκδ', γινόμενα χρυσοῦ λίτραι
 ος'.

Διὰ τῶν συνηθειῶν τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν βασιλικῶν στάβλων τῶν
 ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ἐν τοῖς στάβλοις.

Διὰ τοῦ κόμητος τοῦ στάβλου μωλάρια δ' καὶ ἰπάρια δ'. διὰ τοῦ
 70 χαρτουλαρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπέικτου μωλάρια δ' καὶ ἰπάρια δ'. διὰ τοῦ ἔξω
 χαρτουλαρίου μωλάρια β' καὶ ἰπάρια β'. διὰ τῶν σαφραμέντων μωλάριον
 α' καὶ ἰπάριον α'. διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων κομήτων μωλάριον α'. ὁμοῦ διὰ τῶν
 ἀρχόντων νομίσματα τκβ', γινόμενα λίτραι δ', νομίσματα κς'. καὶ ὁμοῦ τὸ
 πᾶν λίτραι π', νομίσματα κς'.

75 Καὶ τὰ μὲν μωλάρια τὰ σ', ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ ἰπάρια τὰ σ', καταβιβάζει
 ταῦτα ὁ λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγγελῶν εἰς τὰ Μαλάγινα, καὶ παραλαμβάνει αὐτὰ ὁ
 κόμης τοῦ στάβλου καὶ ὁ ἔσω χαρτουλᾶριος τοῦ στάβλου πενταετία, ἔξαετία
 καὶ ἑπταετία, μὴ ἔχοντα σπιλώματα εἰς τὴν ψύαν. καὶ σφραγίζονται τὰ
 τετρακόσια εἰς τὰ δύο μέρη τῆς καπούλας βασιλικῆν βοῦλλαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰς
 80 τὸν ἐπερχόμενον χρόνον γίνεται ἡ αὐτὴ ἔκθεσις καὶ βούλλωσις. λαβιδοῦνται
R. 460 πάντα τὰ ἰπάρια καὶ γίνονται εὐνοῦχα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ φοσσάτου γίνεται
L 6' προσθήκη· καὶ φέρει ὁ λογοθέτης || σεσαγματωμένα τὰ σ' σαγμάρια ἔχοντα
 ἐνδύματα ἐν ταῖς στρατοῦραις κέντουκλα μετὰ σωμαρίων φορτωμάτων, κεκα-
 λιγωμένα, ἐπιφερόμενα καὶ σελιναῖα, ἅμα καὶ τῶν καπιστριῶν αὐτῶν. καὶ οὐδὲ
 85 ὡσούτως ἐπαρκοῦσιν εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν ὑπηρεσίαν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ
 φοσσάτου προσάπαξ δίδουσι οἱ στρατηγοὶ μωλάρια τῷ βασιλεῖ οὕτως· ὁ
 Ἀνατολικὸς μωλάρια γ', ὁ Ἀρμενιάκος μωλάρια γ', ὁ Θρακῆσις μωλάρια γ',
 ὁ Ὀψικιάνος μωλάρια γ', ὁ Βουκελλάριος μωλάρια γ', καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ
 ἀνὰ μωλαρίων β' τῆς τε Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως· ὁ Σελευκεῖας μωλάριον α',
 90 ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν μωλάρια γ', ὁ δρουγγάριος τοῦ πλοῖμου μωλάρια γ',
 ὁ ἔξκούβιτος μωλάριον α', ὁ ἱκανάτος μωλάριον α', ὁ νοῦμερος καὶ ὁ τειχιώτης
 καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῶν ὀπτιμάτων ἀνὰ μωλαρίου α'. ὁμοῦ μωλάρια νη'.

Phrygia, and according to the strength and capacity of each *mitaton*, should be carried out in the fear of God and in all truth and piety. For each of the above-mentioned *mitata* has a specific number of animals due from it according to its status, which is set down clearly for all: from Asia and Phrygia 200 mules at 15 *nomismata*, 200 pack-horses at 12 *nomismata*, in total 5.424 *nomismata*, which is 76 lbs. gold.

On the customary dues of the officers of the imperial stables, both in the City and in the provincial stables:

From the *komēs* of the stable, 4 mules and 4 pack-horses; from the *chartouarios* and the *epeiktēs* 4 mules and 4 pack-horses; from the provincial *chartouarios* 2 mules and 2 pack-horses; from the commissariat 1 mule and 1 pack-horse; from the 4 *komites* 1 mule. Altogether from the officers, 322 *nomismata*, which is 4 lbs. 26 *nomismata*. In sum, 80 lbs. 26 *nomismata*.

The *logothetēs* of the herds brings the 200 mules and likewise the 200 pack-horses down to Malagina, and the *komēs* of the stable and the inner *chartouarios* of the stable select five-, six- and seven-year old animals, with no blemishes on their flanks. These 400 are then branded with the imperial seal on both sides of the forequarters. The same requisition and branding takes place furthermore in the following year. All the pack-horses are castrated and thus become geldings, and serve as a supplement for the expedition's needs. The *logothetēs* brings the 200 pack-animals fully harnessed, with felt coverings over their saddle-cloths, carrying ropes for the loads, equipped with leggings, horse-shoes and with their halters. These are not as such sufficient, however, for the imperial household; and at the time of an expedition the *stratēgoi* make a single donation of mules to the emperor as follows: the *Anatolikos*, 3 mules; the *Armeniakos*, 3 mules; the *Thrakēsios*, 3 mules; the *Opsikianos*, 3 mules; the *Boukellarios*, 3 mules; the other *stratēgoi* of East and West 2 mules each; the *stratēgos* of Seleukeia 1 mule; the *domestikos* of the *Scholai* 3 mules; the *drouggarios* of the fleet, 3 mules; the *Exkoubitos*, 1 mule; the *Hikanatos*, 1 mule; the *Noumeros* and the *Teichiōtēs* and the *domestikos* of the *Optimatoi* 1 mule each. Altogether, 58 mules.

Διὰ τῶν ὀφικιαλίων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ·

Ἄπαρχος μωλάριον α', ὁ σακελλάρις δύο, ὁ γενικὸς μωλάρια β', ὁ
R. 461 κυαίστωρ μωλάριον α', ὁ τοῦ σακελλίου μωλάριον α', ὁ τοῦ βεστιαρίου
 96 μωλάριον α', οἱ δύο κουράτορες καὶ ὁ κτημάτινος ἀνὰ μωλαρίου ἑνός, οἱ δύο
 πρωτονοτάριοι τῶν δύο κουρατορικίων μωλάριον α', ὁ ζυγοστάτης μωλάριον
 α', ὁ εἰδικὸς μωλάριον α', ὁ παραθαλασσίτης καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος ἀνὰ μωλαρίου
 α', ὁ σύμπος καὶ ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ πραιτωρίου μωλάριον α', τὸ σέκρετον τοῦ
 100 γενικοῦ μωλάρια γ', τὸ σέκρετον τοῦ σακελλίου μωλάρια β', τὸ σέκρετον τοῦ
 βεστιαρίου μωλάρια β'· ὁμοῦ μωλάρια κε'· ὁμοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων μωλα-
 ρίων ξενάλια πγ'.

Διὰ τῶν μητροπολιτῶν καὶ ἀρχιεπισκόπων ·

Μωλάρια σεσαγματωμένα τῶν μητροπολιτῶν νβ'· μωλάρια νβ' τῶν
 105 πεντηκονταδύο ἀρχιεπισκόπων· τὰ ρδ' σεσαγματωμένα μετὰ καὶ τῶν φορτω-
 μάτων αὐτῶν καὶ κεκαλιγμένα· παραλαμβάνει δὲ αὐτὰ ὁ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου
 ἅμα τῷ τοῦ ἔσω στάβλου χαρτουλαρίῳ καὶ βουλλοῖ αὐτὰ μετὰ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς
 προμοσέλλας· ὁμοῦ μωλάρια ρδ'· καὶ ὁμοῦ τὸ πᾶν διὰ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων, τῶν
 τε μητάτων τοῦ λογοθέτου τῶν ἀγγελῶν καὶ τῶν ξεναλίων, μωλάρια φπε'.

110

Διὰ τῶν εὐαγῶν μοναστηρίων ·

L 6^v Ἰπάρια ρ' || τὰ παρασυρόμενα ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως δεξιὰ καὶ
 εὐώνυμα. ὀφείλουσι δὲ λαβιδουῖσθαι καὶ εὐνουχιζέσθαι. οὐ σφραγιζονται δέ,
 διότι, ὅτε κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ποιῆσαι ἔξοδον, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐξοδιάζονται ὅπου
R. 462 κελεύει ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ξεναλίων τῶν προσφερομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν
 115 καιρῷ τοῦ φοσσάτου. λαμβάνει ὁ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου ἅμα τῷ χαρτουλαρίῳ τοῦ
 στάβλου ἐκ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ εἰς ἔξοδον λίτρας γ'.

Καὶ θεωρεῖ ὁ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου ἅμα τῷ χαρτουλαρίῳ εἰς τὸ κελλάριον
 τὸ βασιλικόν, ὅπως στρατούρας ἔχει βασιλικὰς καὶ καβαλλοκιλικὰ ἀπὸ
 Λυδίας ἐκ τῆς κουρατορείας τῶν Τρυχίνων. καὶ λαμβάνει τὰ σ' σαγματοπασ-

From the *offikialioi* and the rest:

The eparch 1 mule; the *sakellarios* 2, the *genikos* (*logothetēs*) 2 mules; the *quaestor* 1 mule; the (secretary) of the *sakellion* 1 mule; that of the *vestiarion* 1 mule; the two *kouratores* and the (secretary of the imperial) estates, 1 mule each; the two *prōtonotarioi* of the two *kouratorikia* 1 mule; the *zygostatēs* 1 mule; the *eidikos* (*logothetēs*) 1 mule; the *parathalassitēs* and the *barbaros* 1 mule each; the *symponos* and the *logothetēs* of the *praitōrion* 1 mule; the staff of the *genikon* 3 mules; the staff of the *sakellion* 2 mules; the staff of the *vestiarion* 2 mules. Altogether 25 mules; and the total from both groups of mules, 83 animals as gifts.

From the metropolitans and archbishops:

52 fully-harnessed mules from the metropolitans; 52 mules from the fifty-two archbishops. These 104 fully harnessed mules, with their loads, are also to be shod. The *komēs* of the stable, together with the *chartoularios* of the inner stable takes them, and brands them with the rest of the baggage train, in all 104 mules. And the grand total from both sources, the *mitata* of the *logothetēs* of the herds, and the (animals provided *ās*) gifts, 585 mules.

From the pious monasteries:

100 complementary horses, led before the emperor to left and right. They should be castrated and gelded; but they are not branded, since when the emperor orders a gift to be made, it is from among these that animals are presented wherever he commands. Likewise from the animals brought as gifts to the emperor during the course of the expedition. The *komēs* of the stable, along with the *chartoularios* of the stable takes 3 lbs. of gold from the *eidikon* for expenses.

And the *komēs* of the stable along with the *chartoularios* enquires in the imperial storehouse of the stable as to how many imperial blankets there are, and horse-cloths from Lydia, from the *kouratoreia* of Trychina. He takes the 200 sets of pack-harnesses and leggings from the *mitata* once only during the campaign; he takes

- 120 μαγάδια προσάπαξ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ φοσσάτου τὰ μητατινά. ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ ρδ' σαγματοπασμαγάδια προσάπαξ· ὁμοῦ σαγματοπασμαγάδια τδ'. καὶ πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῶν φπε' σαγματοπασμαγαδίων ἀγοράζει, ἤγουν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἀγορασθῆναι καὶ συσταθῆναι στρατοῦραι καὶ σάγματα σπα'. δέον δὲ ἀγοράζειν ῥασικὰ ἀμάλια καὶ βάπτειν ἀληθινά, καὶ ποιεῖν σαγίσματα καὶ βορκάδια
 125 ρν'. καὶ τὰ μὲν ρ' λόγῳ τῶν παρασυρομένων ἵππαρίων ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως· τὰ δὲ λ' λόγῳ τῶν βασιλικῶν σελλαρίων, καὶ τὰ κ' λόγῳ τῶν διὰ ξεναλίων διδομένων ἵππαρίων. καὶ τάγιστρα ἐκ τοῦ κελλαρίου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἀποθέτου τοῦ στάβλου ρν'· ὁμοίως καὶ βурсάρια διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι καπίστρια ρπ'· καὶ ἐξακάνθηλα λόγῳ κεδραίας, καὶ ἀσκία εἰς οἶνον καὶ ὄξος λόγῳ τῶν
R. 463 περιοδίων τῶν ἀλόγων, ἀξινоруγια καὶ πλατυλίσκια καὶ πτυάρια στιβαρὰ διὰ
 131 τοὺς πότζους. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου ὀφείλει λαμβάνειν σίδηρον ν' λίτρας λόγῳ σελιναίων, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι καὶ μασσήματα ἐλαφρὰ ρν'. καὶ ὀφείλει λαβεῖν ῥέτινα καὶ καπιτζάλια ἀπλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βурсαρίων. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κανάβευς, ἣν λαμβάνει ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου, ὀφείλει καμῆιν
 135 σωκάρια.

Διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπουργίας·

- ζ, 7^r Ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης || καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας καὶ ὁ οἰκειακὸς βασιλικὸς κελλάριος σαγμάρια π' τὰ μέλλοντα βαστάζειν τὴν βασιλικὴν ὑπουργίαν καὶ τὸ ἀσῆμιον τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης. λαμβάνουσι δὲ ὁ τῆς τραπέ-
 140 ζης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας λογάριον ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ εἰς ἔξοδον λόγῳ ἀρτυσίας. οἰνάρην δεσποτικόν, μαγίστρων καὶ πατρικίων χορηγεῖ ὁ ἀποθηκάριος· τὸ μὲν βασιλικὸν μῆ' μέτρα, ζυγοφλάσκια τριμετραῖα ζυγάς η'. καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαγίστρων καὶ πατρικίων ἀσκία πενταμετραῖα ζυγάς ι'. σκορτζίδια λόγῳ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ ἐλαίου, φασούλιν, ὀρύζιν, πιστάκιν, ἀμύγδαλον, φακὴν παρ-
R. 464 εἶχον πάλαι τὰ δύο κουρατωρίκια, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ βρώσιμα,
 146 ἤγουν λαρδίν, ἀπόκτιν, τυρίν, ὀψάρια παστά, σφακτά, πρόβατα ὑπαρνα, ἀγελάδια ὑπόμοσχα, καὶ οἶνον ἐγχώριον χορηγοῦσιν οἱ πρωτονοτάριοι. βερζίτικον δὲ καὶ νεῦρον ὀφείλει ἀγοράζειν ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας. ἀρίθμια δὲ καὶ κυπρίνους ὀφείλει ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν κουρα-
 150 τορειῶν. καὶ ἐν ᾧ δαπανᾶται ἡ βασιλικὴ ὑπουργία, ὅπου εὕρη καλὸν οἶνον καὶ

sets of pack-harnesses and leggings once only. This totals 304 sets of pack-harnesses and leggings. To make the number up to 585 sets of pack-harnesses and leggings he makes certain purchases, that is to say, the 281 blankets and pack-harnesses still required are to be bought and made up. It is also necessary to buy rough-woven blankets and dye them purple, and to make 150 saddle-cloths and brocades: 100 for the horses led ahead of the emperor, 30 for the imperial saddle horses, and 20 for the horses given out as presents. Also 150 nose-bags from the supervisor of the imperial storehouse of the stable; likewise hides for the making of 180 halters; and six-basket panniers for the cedar-oil, and leather bags for wine and vinegar for the treatment of the horses; together with picks and spades and stout shovels for the watering holes. From the imperial *vestiarion* he should take 50 lbs. of iron for horse-shoes, and should also make 150 light-weight bits. From the hides he should take reins and single halters; and from the hemp, which he obtains from the same imperial *vestiarion*, he should make ropes.

(Pack-animals required) For the imperial household service:

The head of the table and the *domestikos* of the service and the personal imperial cellarer (receive) 80 pack-animals for the transport of the imperial service and the silver of the imperial table. The head of the table and the *domestikos* of the service take a cash sum from the *eidikon* for the expense of the table requirements. Imperial wine, (and) wine for the *magistroi* and *patrikioi*, is provided by the *apothēkarios*: 48 measures of imperial wine, in eight paired flasks of 3 measures per flask; and for the *magistroi* and *patrikioi* 10 pairs of wine-skins of 5 measures per wine-skin. Leather flasks for the imperial oil, and beans, rice, pistacchio, almonds, lentils, as well as the oil, were provided of old by the two *kouratorikia*. The remaining provisions, that is, lard, fat, cheese, salted fish, animals for slaughter — sheep with lambs and cows with calves — and local wine, are provided by the *prōtonotarioi*. The head of the table and the *domestikos* of the service should purchase sturgeon and shell-fish. *Arithmia* and carp should be provided from the imperial *kouratoreia*. And insofar as the imperial household consumes its supplies it should

ἔλαιον καὶ ὄσπρια, ἵνα ἐπιβάλλει ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅσα ξενάλια φέρουσί τινες τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὰ μὲν βρώσιμα λαμβάνει ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας καὶ ὁ οἰκειακὸς καὶ βασιλικὸς κελλάριος, καὶ ὅπου προστάξει ὁ βασιλεὺς, διανέμουσιν αὐτά.

155 Χρῆ δὲ γινώσκειν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ ἔχειν φούρνους δ' πρὸς τὴν ἀποβολὴν τῆς Συρίας καὶ δίκτυα πρὸς τὸ ἀποκλείειν τὰ ὄρνεα καὶ καυκοπινάκια, ἵνα πίνωσι. καὶ ὅτε κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν ἐν Συρίᾳ, ὀφείλουσιν φροντίζειν τὰ π' σαγμάρια τῆς κομπίνας αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅσα σαγμάρια στρέψει ὁ μινσουράτωρ, ἵνα κάκεινα φορτώσῃ ὁ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς
160 ὑπουργίας καὶ ὁ οἰκειακὸς βασιλικὸς κελλάριος, ἵνα καθ' οἰονδήποτε τρόπον μὴ λείψῃ τι εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν ὑπουργίαν.

R. 465 Διὰ τοῦ μινσουράτορος ἤγουν τῆς βασιλικῆς κόρτης, σαγμάρια
v'.

L 7^v Χρῆ ἐπιφέρεσθαι τὸν μινσουράτορα || δύο κόρτας καὶ ἀνάδιπλα τὰς
165 βασιλικὰς τέντας · ἐπειδὴ ἕως μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ῥωμανίαν, ἢ μίᾳ ζυγῇ ἀπέρχεται ἔμπροσθεν μετὰ τῆς ἡμισείας ὑπουργίας, καὶ προευτρεπίζεται τὸ βασιλικὸν ἄπληκτον, καὶ εὐρίσκει ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντα εὐτρεπισμένα καὶ ἔτοιμα.

Δέον δὲ τὸν μινσουράτορα ἔχειν σκαμνία συστυλά, ἵνα καθέζονται εἰς ἐν ἑκάστον σκαμνίον ἄνδρες γ'. ὁμοίως τοῦ μήκους αὐτῶν καὶ τραπέζια συσ-
170 τυλά, μεσάλια καὶ μανδύλια τὰ ἀρκοῦντα τῇ βασιλικῇ τραπέζῃ · ἐπεύχια φούντατα τὰ εἰς χαμόκουμβα ἐνεργοῦντα · ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐπιφέρεται ὁ μινσουράτωρ, ἀλλὰ χορηγεῖ αὐτὰ ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῆς φορτώσεως τοῦ οἰκειακοῦ βασιτικοῦ βεστιαρίου. πιλωτὰ διβλάττια παχέα καὶ πτενά διὰ τὰ χαμόκουμβα · δίδονται δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τῆς φορτώσεως τοῦ οἰκειακοῦ
175 βεστιαρίου · ἕτερα πιλωτὰ λινοβένετα ἔχοντα μαλὸν κτενιστὸν ἀνὰ λιτρῶν λ' διὰ τοὺς κλητορευομένους φίλους · κιλίκια διὰ τὰ χαμόκουμβα πρὸς τὸ ποσὸν τῶν κλητορευομένων φίλων.

R. 466 Ἄφ' οὗ γὰρ ἀποβάλλῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Συρίαν, τὰ σκαμνία καὶ τὰ τραπέζια καὶ τὰς περιττὰς τέντας καὶ τὴν μίαν κόρτην παραλαμβάνει ὁ κατὰ τὸν τόπον
180 πρωτονοτάριος, καὶ ὅπου προστάξει ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀποτίθησιν αὐτά. λουτρόν

add to its storage vessels good wine and oil and vegetables wherever it finds them; and whatever presents people may bring to the emperor, the head of the table and the *domestikos* of the service and the personal imperial cellarer take charge of any provisions, and distribute them wherever the emperor commands.

The head of the table must remember to have four ovens for the expedition into Syria, and nets for enclosing chickens, and wooden bowls, so that they can drink. And when the emperor gives the order to march into Syria, they must load up the 80 pack-animals of their team; and such pack-animals as the *minsouratōr* turns back, the head of the table and the *domestikos* of the service and the personal imperial cellarer should load them up too, so that nothing at all is lacking in the imperial service.

For the *minsouratōr*, or the imperial tent, 50 pack-animals:

The *minsouratōr* must bring with him two pavilions and double the number of tents. For as long as the emperor is in Romania, one pair goes in advance with half the imperial service, and the imperial encampment is prepared in advance, so that the emperor finds everything prepared and ready.

The *minsouratōr* must also have folding benches, long enough for three men to sit on each; likewise folding tables of the same length, utensils and napkins sufficient for the imperial table; also thick tufted rugs for reclining upon — but these are not provided by the *minsouratōr*: the *prōtovestiarios* of the emperor issues them from the baggage of the personal imperial *vestiarion*; thick and thin double-bordered cushions for reclining on — these are likewise provided from the train of the personal *vestiarion*; other flax-blue cushions, with their pile combed up, each of 30 pounds, for invited guests; and goats'-hair mats in accordance with the number of invited guests.

When the emperor marches into Syria, however, the local *prōtonotarios* takes the benches and tables and extra tents and the one pavilion, and deposits them wherever the emperor orders. (The *minsouratōr* also brings) A Turkish bath, called in Scythian *tzerga*,

Τουρκικόν, ἤγουν Σκυθικόν τζεργά, μετὰ κινστέρνης δερματίνης ἀπὸ ἀδημίου ·
κουκούμια τριμετραῖα ἰβ' · πυρομάχια λόγῳ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἰβ' · βίσαλα εἰς τὸ
καμίνιον, κραββάτια συστέλτά · ἐκκλησίαν βασιλικὴν μετὰ ἱερῶν. ἰστέον δέ,
ὅτι τὰ ἱερά ὀφείλει βαστάζειν ὁ πριμικήριος τοῦ βεστιαρίου.

185 Διὰ τοῦ οἰκειακοῦ βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοι-
τῶνος διδομένων εἰς φόρτωσιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου
σαγμάρια λ' ·

Ἡ βασιλικὴ πᾶσα ἀμφίσις καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ ἐξόπλισις ἐν σκευαρίοις ἐνδεδυ-
μένοις δι' ἀληθινῶν τομαρίων καὶ σιδήρων γανωτῶν μετὰ καὶ χαρταλαμίων
L 8' ὁμοίως γανωτῶν || διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰ σαγμάρια βαστάζεσθαι. ψυχριστάρια ἀργυρᾶ
191 μετὰ ἐνδυμάτων εἰς οἰνάνθην καὶ εἰς ῥοδόσταγμα καὶ εἰς νερόν ἠ' · ἐξ αὐτῶν
εἰς οἰνάνθην ἄσπρον μικρὸν α', εἰς ῥοδόσταγμα μεγάλα δύο, εἰς νερόν μεγάλα
R. 467 δ' · βεδούρια ἀργυρᾶ εἰς νερόν | β' · ἀσκοδάβλαι διάφοροι μικραὶ καὶ μεγάλαι ·
ἕτερα ψυχριστάρια δίκην μαγαρικῶν χαλκᾶ γανωτὰ εἰς νερόν μεγάλα δ' ·
195 βεδούρια χαλκᾶ γανωτὰ β' · ἱερά τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἣν ἐπιφέρεται ὁ μινσουράτωρ.

Βιβλία · ἡ ἀκολουθία τῆς ἐκκλησίας, βιβλία στρατηγικά, βιβλία μηχα-
νικά, ἐλεπόλεις ἔχοντα, καὶ βελοποιϊκὰ καὶ ἕτερα ἀρμόδια τῇ ὑποθέσει ἤγουν
πρὸς πολέμους καὶ καστρομαχίας · βιβλία ἱστορικά, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὸν Πολύ-
αινον καὶ τὸν Συριανόν · βιβλίον τὸν Ὀνειροκρίτην · βιβλίον Συναντηματικόν ·
200 βιβλίον τὸ περιέχον Περὶ εὐδείας καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ ζάλης, ὑετοῦ τε καὶ
ἀστραπῶν καὶ βροντῶν καὶ ἀνέμων ἐπιφορᾶς · πρὸς τούτοις Βροντολόγιον καὶ
Σεισμολόγιον καὶ ἕτερα, ὅσα παρατηροῦνται οἱ πλευστικοί. ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι
τοιούτον βιβλίον ἐφιλοπονῆθη καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν βιβλίων ἠρανίσθη παρ' ἐμοῦ
Κωνσταντίνου ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰωνίῳ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων.

205 Ἐπεύχια φουνδάτα εἰς τὰ χαμόκουμβα, ἵνα ἀναπαύονται οἱ φίλοι, ἄπερ
καὶ προείρηται εἰς τὴν ἐκθεσιν τοῦ μινσουράτορος, ὅτι δίδονται ἀπὸ τοῦ
βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου · θηριάκη, ἠνίτζιν, ἕτερα ἀντιφάρμακα σκευαστὰ καὶ
R. 468 μονσειδῆ διὰ τοὺς φαρμακευομένους. | πανδέχται μετὰ παντοίων ἐλαίων καὶ
βοηθημάτων καὶ παντοίων ἐμπλάστρων καὶ ἀλοιφῶν καὶ ἀλλειμμάτων καὶ

with a hide cistern of red leather; 12 three-measure pitchers; 12 grates for the bath; bricks for the hearth; folding couches; an imperial chapel with sacred furniture — note that the *primikērios* of the *vestiarion* should transport the latter.

For the personal imperial *vestiarion* and for those seconded by the bedchamber for the baggage of the same imperial *vestiarion*, 30 pack-animals:

All the imperial clothing and the remaining regalia in vessels encased in purple leather and burnished iron chains and straps likewise burnished, so that they can be carried by the pack-animals; eight silver coolers with covers, for scented wine, rose-water, and water: of these, one small cooler for white wine, two large ones for rosewater, and four large ones for water. Two silver pails for water; various water-skins, large and small; four other coolers, large, of burnished copper, like earthenware pots, for water; two burnished copper pails; and sacred vessels for the chapel, which the *minsouratōr* transports.

Books: the liturgy of the Church, military manuals, books on mechanics, including siege machinery and the production of missiles and other information relevant to the enterprise, that is to say, to wars and sieges; historical books, especially those of Polyainos and Syrianos; an oneirocritical book; a book of chances and occurrences; a book dealing with good and bad weather and storms, rain and lightening and thunder and the vehemence of the winds; and in addition to these a treatise on thunder and a treatise on earthquakes, and other books, such as those to which sailors are wont to refer. Note that such a book was researched and compiled from many books by myself, Constantine emperor of the Romans in Christ the eternal King.

Tufted rugs for reclining, so that guests may rest, which were mentioned above in the section on the *minsouratōr*, and that they were issued from the imperial *vestiarion*; theriac, serapium juice, other antidotes, both mixed and unmixed, for those who have been poisoned; receptacles with all kinds of oils and remedies; and diverse salves and unguents and ointments and other medical substances,

- 210 λοιπῶν ἰατρικῶν εἰδῶν, βοτανῶν καὶ λοιπῶν τῶν εἰς θεραπείαν ἀνθρώπων καὶ
 κτηνῶν τυχανόντων· σιτλολέκανα ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ἐπιχυτάρια μετὰ ἐνδυμάτων
 λόγῳ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἕτερα ἀσπρόχαλκα καὶ γανωτὰ λόγῳ ἀρχόντων καὶ
 εὐγενῶν προσφύγων· πιλωτὰ διβλάττια παχέα καὶ πτενὰ λόγῳ τοῦ βασιλέως
L 8^o διὰ τὰ χαμόκουμβα· σελλία δύο τῆς προελεύσεως, σελλία τοῦ κουκουμιλίου ||
 215 ὀλόκανα διάχρυσα κοπτά, ἐπιστρώματα ἔχοντα, καὶ ἕτερα ἐπιστρώματα ἄνω-
 θεν συγκαλύπτοντα τὴν κοπὴν τῆς χρείας· καὶ λόγῳ τῶν εὐγενῶν προσφύγων
 ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἀργυροκατάκλειστα δύο· καυκία βασιλικά χαλνίτζια λόγῳ τῶν
 φίλων τῶν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κλητορευομένων· σπαθία βασιλικά δύο, ἐν τῆς
 προελεύσεως, καὶ ἐν τῆς ὁδοῦ· παραμήριον ἓν. ἀλειπτὰ, καπνίσματα διάφορα,
 220 θυμίαμα, μαστίχην, λίβανον, σάχαρ, κρόκον, μόσχον, ἄμπαρ, ξυλαλοὴν ὑγράν
 καὶ ξηράν, κιννάμωμον ἀληθινὸν πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον, καὶ ξυλοκιννάμωμον,
R. 469 μυρίσματα λοιπά. σεν|δέξ, λινομαλωτάρια, σάβανα, σινδόνια, βραναῖται κατω-
 τικαί, μανδίλια κατωτικαί.

Διὰ τῶν ἀρράφίων τῶν εἰς ἐθνικοὺς ἀποστελλομένων λόγῳ
 ξενίων·

- 225 Σκαραμάγγια διαφόρων χροῖων καὶ ἐξεμπλίων, σκαραμάγγια διάσπρα,
 δικίτρινα, διβένετα, κολόβια μεγαλόζηλα ἐκ τῶν κατ' οἴκους, ἐσωφόρια
 μεσόζηλα ἐκ τῶν κατ' οἴκους, ἐσωφόρια λεπτόζηλα ἐκ τῶν κατ' οἴκους,
 ἐσωφόρια λεπτόζηλα διαφόρων χροῖων καὶ ἐξεμπλίων ἐκ τῶν κατ' οἴκους,
 ἀσπρομύλαια, διυγαντάρια ἄσπρα καὶ ἰαστά, λωρωτὰ τρίμιτα καὶ ὀλόβηρα
 230 ἰαστά καὶ ἀναλεκτὰ διαφόρων χροῖων. ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἐν σκευαρίοις
 ἐνδεδυμένοις δι' ἀληθινῶν τομαρίων καὶ σιδήρων γανωτῶν μετὰ χαρταλαμίων
 ὁμοίως γανωτῶν βαστάζονται.

Διὰ τῶν ἐρράμμένων·

- Ἰμάτια ἐρράμμένα δίσχιστα μανιακάτα ἀπὸ σκαραμαγγίων διαφόρων
 235 χροῖων καὶ ἐξεμπλίων ἀμφισμένα ἀπὸ διβλαττίων. πρὸς τούτοις καὶ με-
 σόζηλα δίσχιστα μανιακάτα ἀμφισμένα ἀπὸ διβλαττίων· ἕτερα κολόβια ἐκ
R. 470 τῶν κατ' οἴκους μεσόζηλα δίσχιστα μανιακάτα λιτά. ἰστέον, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα
 ἐν σκευαρίοις ἐνδεδυμένοις μετ' ἀληθινῶν τομαρίων καὶ σιδήρων γανωτῶν
 μετὰ καὶ χαρταλαμίων ὁμοίως γανωτῶν βαστάζονται. τουβία ἐκ τούτων

herbs and whatever else is necessary for the curing of men and beasts. Small silver pails and sprinklers with covers for the emperor, and others of polished bronze for officers and distinguished refugees; thick and thin double-bordered cushions for the emperor to recline upon; two chairs for the cortège, chairs for the chamber-pot, of metal gilded with beaten gold, with covers, and with other covers above concealing the space for the latrine; and for the distinguished refugees two other, similar, seats, bound in silver; imperial chalices for the guests invited to dine with the emperor; two imperial swords, one ceremonial, one for the campaign; one sabre; ointments, various perfumes: incense, mastic, frankincense, sachar, saffron, musk, amber, bitter aloes, moist and dry, pure ground cinnamon of first and second quality, cinnamon wood, and other perfumes. Silken sheets, rough linen blankets, linen towels, sheets, "western" patch-work covers, "western" towels.

From the untailed cloths despatched to foreigners as gifts:

Skaramaggia of different colours and patterns: all-white, all-yellow and all-blue *skaramaggia*; tunics of high value, produced in the imperial workshops; undergarments of middling value produced in the imperial workshops; undergarments of lower value produced in the imperial workshops; undergarments of lower value of varying colours and patterns produced in the imperial workshops; off-white coats, two-tone silk garments of white and violet; triple-warped striped garments of violet, of purple and a selection of different hues. Note that all these are carried in containers encased in purple leather and burnished chains, with straps similarly burnished.

From the tailored cloths:

Tailored garments with two vents and collars selected from *skaramaggia* of varied colours and patterns, decorated with a double silk border; in addition, double-vented garments with collars, of middling value, decorated with a double silk border; other tunics from among those produced in the imperial workshops, of middling value, with two vents and collars and with a single border of silk. Note that all these are carried in containers encased in purple leather and polished iron chains, and with straps similarly polished. Leggings for all these (garments), those of the best quality with

L 9^r πάντων, τὰ μὲν προκριτώτερα ἀπὸ διβλαττῶν ἀετῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν
 241 ἀμφιεσμένα, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα τούτων ἀπὸ βδελλίων· σφιγκτούρια, θάλασσαι καὶ
 ἀβδία πλατύλωρα καὶ ἀβδία μασουρωτά, τὰ μὲν ἀμφιεσμένα ἀπὸ διβλαττίων,
 τὰ δὲ καὶ λιτά· ὑποκαμισοβράκια διαφόρων ποιότητων· ἐπιρριπτάρια ὀξέα
 πρῶτα καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα, ζωστρία ὀξέα διάφορα καὶ ψευδοξέα ἀνά
 245 νομίσματος ἑνὸς καὶ μιλιαρησίων δ'· καὶ ἕτερα ψευδοξέα ἀνά νομίσματος α',
 καὶ ἕτερα ἀνά μιλιαρησίων η'· ὑποδήματα ἀδήμινα ζυγαὶ διάφοροι. ἰστέον, ὅτι
 ταῦτα πάντα ἐν βουλγιδίοις ἢ καὶ ἐν δισσακίοις ὀφείλουσι βαστάζεσθαι. ταῦτα
 δὲ διὰ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς πρόσφυγας τυγχάνουσι καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς εὐγενεῖς καὶ
 μεγάλους ἐθνικοὺς ἀποστέλλεσθαι.

250 'Ἰμάτια λεπτόζηλα ἐκ τῶν κατ' οἴκους πρόκριτα καὶ καθαρὰ ἀμφιεσμένα
 ἀπὸ τριβλαττίων καὶ διβλαττίων ὀξέων καὶ διβλαττίων ἀετῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν
 καὶ βδελλίων, ἀμφότερα δίσχιστα μετὰ περσικῶν διὰ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ
 κλεισουράρχας· ἕτερα ἰμάτια ἐκ τῶν κατ' οἴκους λεπτόζηλα δεύτερα λιτά
R. 471 δίσχιστα μα|νιακάτα διὰ τοὺς θεματικοὺς τουρμάρχας καὶ λοιποὺς πρόσφυγας
 255 τε καὶ ἄρχοντας. ἰστέον, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἐν σκευαρίοις ἐνδεδυμένοις δι'
 ἀληθινῶν τομαρίων καὶ σιδήρων γανωτῶν μετὰ καὶ χαρταλαμίων ὁμοίως
 γανωτῶν βαστάζονται. σφιγκτούρια, θάλασσαι καὶ ἀβδία πλατύλωρα καὶ
 μασουρωτά, τὰ μὲν ἀμφιεσμένα ἀπὸ διβλαττίων, τὰ δὲ λιτά· ἐπιρριπτάρια
 ὀξέα διάφορα, ὑποκαμισοβράκια διαφόρων ποιότητων. ἰστέον, ὅτι ταῦτα
 260 πάντα ἐν βουλγιδίοις ἢ καὶ ἐν δισσακίοις ὀφείλουσι βαστάζεσθαι.

Λογάριον εἰς ἔξοδον τοῦ φοσσάτου, εἰς φιλοφρόνησιν τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων
 ἐν πολέμοις καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ εἰς λοιπὰς ἐξόδους, κεντηνάρια, μιλιαρῆσια,
 σακκία εἰς τὸ δίδοναι τοῖς φυλάσσουσι σχολαρίοις εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν φῖναν, τοῖς
 τε βασιλικοῖς ἀγούροις καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐταιρείας καὶ ἄλλοις, οἷς ἂν
 265 κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐσέβειαν δίδοναι, εἴτε καθ' ἑβδομάδα ἅπαξ, εἴτε κατὰ δύο,
 καὶ εἰς λοιπὰς ἐξόδους. παραλαμβάνει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ τε σακελλάριος καὶ ὁ εἰδικός·
L 9^v καὶ βαστάζουσιν εἰς τὰς || φορτώσεις αὐτῶν πυρέκβολον μετὰ ἴσκακας καὶ
R. 472 κουκομίλιν, ἕτερα δὲ εἰς τὸ παρα|κοιτωνάριον.

double borders of silk decorated with eagles and imperial symbols, those of second quality decorated with hornets. Shirts, tunics of the sea-pattern type, and mantles, some with broad stripes, others with narrow stripes, some decorated with double, some with single, borders. Undershirts with breeches of various qualities; purple-dyed hoods of first, second and third (quality), various purple and false-purple belts valued at 1 *nomisma* 4 *miliarēsia* each; and others in false-purple at 1 *nomisma*, and others at 8 *miliarēsia*. Various pairs of red-leather boots. Note, that all these should be carried in bags or panniers; and these items are brought along for distinguished refugees and for sending to distinguished and powerful foreigners.

Garments of lower value from those produced in the imperial workshops, of the first class, simply decorated with triple and double borders of purple silk, and with double borders decorated with eagles, imperial symbols and hornets, both lots vented and with pouches, for the *stratēgoi* and the *kleisourarchai*. Other garments from those produced in the imperial workshops of lesser value and of the second class, with a single border, vented and with collars for the thematic *tourmarchai* and the remaining refugees and officers. All these are kept in containers encased in purple leather and burnished iron chains and with straps similarly polished. Shirts, tunics of the sea-pattern type, and mantles with both broad and narrow stripes, some decorated with double, some with single borders; various purple-dyed hoods, undershirts with breeches, of varying qualities. Note that all these items should be carried in sacks or panniers.

Cash for the expenses of the expedition, for largesse for those who fight in battle and their leaders, and for other expenses: sacks of coin in (gold) *kentēnaria* and in *miliarēsia*, for giving to the *scholarioi* guarding the imperial perimeter and to the imperial esquires and to those in the imperial *Hetaireia* and to others, to whomsoever the emperor orders generosity to be shown, whether once a week or every other week; and for other expenditures. The *sakellarios* and the *eidikos* take charge of these matters. They also carry in their baggage flint with tinder, three silver lamps and three bronze ones, one of which is placed in the bed-chamber, one in the latrine, and one in the antechamber.

270 Ὅφειλει δὲ γίνεσθαι λάκκος ἔχων βάθος σπιθαμᾶς δύο, καὶ ἵνα σκεπά-
ζονται ἐπάνω τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ πετάλων χαλκῶν κοσκινωτῶν, καὶ συμπαράκεινται
αὐταῖς πρὸς ἓν τρία κηρούλια, φανάρια χαλκᾶ κοσκινωτά καὶ ὠρολόγιον
μικρὸν ἀργυροῦν διὰ τὰ νυκτερεύματα, ὅπερ ὀφείλει ἴστασθαι εἰς τὸν κοιτῶνα,
καὶ ἕτερον χαλκοῦν, ὅπερ ὀφείλει ἴστασθαι, ἔνθα οἱ κοιτωνῆται μένουσιν.

275 Πρὸς τούτοις σκουτέλλια ὀλόχρυσα δ', μινσουράκια ὀλόχρυσα β', ὀρθο-
μίλια ὀλόχρυσα δύο. ἴστέον, ὅτι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ συνεστιᾶσθαι ἔθνικους τῷ βασιλεῖ
ὀφείλουσιν ἐνεργεῖν. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς φορτώσεσι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ
βεστιαρίου τυγχάνουσιν, ὡς μὴ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐνεργοῦντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν
τραπέζιν. τὸ δὲ ἀσήμιν τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπουργίας ὀφείλει βαστάζειν ἢ ὑπουργία
280 εἰς τὴν φόρτωσιν τῶν π' σαγμαρίων τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπουργίας.

Ἄφ' οὗ δὲ ἀποκινήσει ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους, δύο φῖναι ὀφείλουσι
γίνεσθαι, καὶ καθ' ἑβδομάδα ὀφείλουσι λαμβάνειν μιλιάρησια. ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ
βασιλικοὶ ἄγουροι μαῖουμᾶν καὶ μιλιάρησια. οἱ δὲ μάγιστροι καὶ οἱ πατρίκιοι
καὶ οἱ ὀφφικιάλιοι συνεστιῶνται τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τοὺς ἀκλήτους σὺν τοῖς

285 πραιποσίτοις. |

R.473

Διὰ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ σαγμαρία μς'.

Λαμβάνει ὁ εἰδικὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος σακκία χάραγμα κεντηνάρια καὶ
μιλιάρησια σακκία λόγῳ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐταιρείας καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀγούρων
καὶ τῶν σχολαρίων καὶ τῶν παραμενόντων τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς τὴν φῖναν· ἱμάτια
290 ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου δεκάλια, ἐνάλια, ὀκτάλια, ἐπτάλια, ἐξάλια, λωρωτά
μεταξωτά Αἰγυπτικά· ἀληθινὰ ἐνθάδια· ταῦτα πάντα διὰ τὸ ἀποστέλλεσθαι
L 10' εἰς ἔθνικους λόγῳ ξενίων. ἱμάτια ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου, ἐρῆρα||μένα
δίσχιστα μανιακάτα, δεκάλια, ἐνάλια, ὀκτάλια, ἐπτάλια καὶ ἐξάλια, λωρωτά
μεταξωτά Αἰγυπτικά, ἀληθινὰ ἐνθάδια, βαμβακερὰ ἀληθινὰ ἐνθάδια καὶ
295 πράσινα· ζωστρία διαφόρων τιμῶν καὶ ποιότητων· σφιγκτούρια ἐκάστου
ἱματίου πρὸς ἀναλογίαν· ὑποκαμισοβράκια διαφόρων τιμῶν καὶ ποιότητων·
ἐπιρῆριπτάρια διαφόρων τιμῶν καὶ ποιότητων· τουβία ἐκάστου ἱματίου πρὸς
ἀναλογίαν· ὑποδήματα διαφόρων τιμῶν καὶ ποιότητων· σάβανα μετὰ τῶν
ἀκολουθιδῶν αὐτῶν, πρῶτα, δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα.

And there should be trenchers two spans deep, covered at ground-level with sieved bronze plates; and there should be placed together in each one three wax candles, sieved bronze torches, and a small silver time-piece for the night vigils, which should be set up in the bed-chamber, and another, of bronze, which should be set up where the chamber attendants stay.

In addition to these, four solid-gold plates, two gold vases, two solid gold jugs. Note that these should be used when foreign guests eat with the emperor. This is why they are carried with the baggage of the imperial *vestiarion*, since they are not used every day at the imperial table. The household service itself should transport the silver of the imperial service, in the baggage of the 80 pack-animals assigned to the imperial service.

When the emperor moves off into the border-lands, there should be two perimeter picket-lines, and they should take an issue of *miliarēsia* each week. Likewise the imperial esquires take an issue of food for feasts and of *miliarēsia*. The *magistroi* and the *patrikioi* eat with the emperor together with the *praipositoi* among those requiring no invitation.

For the *eidikon*, 46 pack-animals:

The *eidikos* takes from the *koitōn* sacks of coin in *kentēnaria* and in *miliarēsia* for the imperial *Hetaireia* and the imperial esquires and the *scholarioi* and those attending the emperor on the perimeter; garments from purchase on the market of 10, 9, 8, 7, and 6 *nomismata* value, striped garments of Egyptian silk, locally-produced purple garments — these are all for presenting to foreigners as presents; garments from purchase on the market, decorated, vented and with collars, of 10, 9, 8, 7 and 6 *nomismata* in value; striped garments of Egyptian silk, locally-produced purple garments, locally-produced cotton garments of purple and of green; belts of various values and qualities; and shirts for each garment accordingly; under-shirts and breeches of varying values and qualities; hoods of varying values and qualities; leggings for each garment accordingly; shoes of varying values and qualities; linen towels with their accompaniments of first, second and third grades.

300 Ἰστέον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν βλαττία τὰ τε ἀρράφια καὶ τὰ ἐρράμμενα ἐν σκευαρίοις
 ὀφείλουσι βαστάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα, οἷον λωρωτὰ ἀληθινὰ ἐνθάδια
R. 474 ἐρράμμενα | τε καὶ ἀρράφια ἐν βουλγιδίοις ἢ καὶ δισακίοις. πυρέκβολα μετὰ
 ἴσκας, φανάρια χαλκᾶ κοσκινωτὰ β', κανδηλαὶ χαλκαὶ εἰς τὰ βασιλικὰ πεντζι-
 μέντα δύο· πέταλα χαλκᾶ κοσκινωτὰ διὰ τὸ ἐπισκεπάζεσθαι τοὺς λάκκους,
 305 ἐνθα αἱ κανδηλαὶ ἄπτουσιν. ὀφείλει δὲ γίγνεσθαι λάκκος ἔχων σπιθαμὰς δύο
 καὶ σκεπάζεσθαι μετὰ πετάλων χαλκῶν κοσκινωτῶν διὰ τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ τὸν
 καπνόν, καὶ ἵνα συμπαράκεινται καὶ ταῖς κανδηλαῖς φατλία δύο καὶ κηρούλια
 δύο καὶ φανάρην χαλκοῦν διὰ τὰς ἀνακυπτούσας χρεῖας τῇ νυκτί.

Κηρούλια διόγκια τ', φατλία λίτραι τ', ἐπειδὴ ὁ δρουγγάριος καθ'
 310 ἐσπέραν εἰς τὸ κέρκετον λαμβάνει ἓν, καὶ ἀφ' οὗ ἐνωθῆ τοῖς θέμασι καὶ δύο
 καὶ τρία, ἐὰν ἦ βία τοῦ ἀνέμου· χαρτία τομάρια τ'.

Ἰστέον ὅτι, ὅτε κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς περάσαι εἰς Πύλας, ὀρίζει τὸν κόμητα
 τοῦ στάβλου καὶ καταβιβάζει τὴν προμοσέλλαν εἰς Πύλας. ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν
 δομέστικον τῶν ὀπτιμάτων, ἵνα ἀκαεῖνος εὐρεθῆ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὀπτιμάτων
 315 εἰς Πύλας, καὶ παρέχει κατασαγμάριον ὀπτιμάτων, καὶ ἵνα προαποστέλλῃ δύο
 βασιλικούς, τὸν μὲν ἓνα εἰς Πύλας τοῦ διαπεράσαι τὸν λαόν, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰς
 τὸν Λευκάτην τοῦ ἐξελαύνειν τὰ καράβια πρὸς τὸν Λευκάτην, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον
L 10^v εἰς Σάγγαρον καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Σαβῖνον. προαποστέλλει || δὲ τοὺς βασιλικούς
R. 475 καὶ πάντας, ἵνα ὑπαντήσωσι τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ εἰς Πύλας, καὶ μαγίστρους καὶ
 320 πατρικίους καὶ ἄλλους, οὓς κελεύει, ἅμα καὶ τοῖς πραιποσίτοις ἀναλαμβάνεται
 μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ δρομώνια, καὶ ἀπὸ ἱκανοῦ διαστήματος τοῦ βασιλείου ὄρμου
 γερόμενος, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπισκοπεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἐγείρεται ἀπὸ τοῦ κραββάτου
 καὶ ἴσταται κατ' ἀνατολὰς τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν αἴρων, καὶ τρίτον τῇ
 χειρὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασφραγίσας εὐχεται τῷ Θεῷ λέγων οὕτως· «Κύριε Ἰησοῦ
 325 Χριστέ, ὁ Θεός μου, εἰς χεῖρας σου παρατίθημι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν σου. φύλαξον
 αὐτὴν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐπερχομένων ἐν αὐτῇ ἐναντίων καὶ δυσχερῶν, ἐμφυλίου
 τε πολέμου καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπιδρομῆς. ἀνάλωτον αὐτὴν τήρησον καὶ ἀπόρθητον, ὅτι
 ἐν σοὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἡμῶν ἀνεθέμεθα, καὶ σὺ εἶ κύριος τοῦ ἐλέους καὶ πατὴρ τῶν
 οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ Θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως, καὶ σὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐλεεῖν καὶ σῶζειν
 330 καὶ ῥύεσθαι ἐκ πειρασμῶν καὶ κινδύνων νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν
 αἰώνων. ἀμήν».

Note that silks, both tailored and untailed, should be transported in containers; but the rest, such as locally-produced striped purple garments, both tailored and untailed, should be carried in sacks or panniers. Flints with tinder, two sieved bronze torches, two bronze oil-lamps for the imperial baggage; sieved bronze plates for covering the trenchers where the oil-lamps are lit. There should be a trencher two spans deep, covered with sieved bronze plates on account of the wind and smoke; and next to the lamps there should be two torches and two candles and a bronze lantern for needs arising during the night.

300 two-ounce candles, 300 pounds of torch(fat), since the *drouggarios* takes one each evening on his patrol, and from the time that the imperial column joins with the *themata*, two or three, if the wind is strong. 300 sheets of parchment.

Note that when the emperor gives the order to cross over to Pylai, he commands the *komēs* of the stable to transfer the baggage-train to Pylai. He likewise commands the *domestikos* of the *Optimatoi* to be present with all the *Optimatoi* at Pylai, and to provide one *Optimatos* for each pack-animal. And he should send on two imperial (officers), one to Pylai to transfer the troops; and then on to Leukatēs to see the ships off from there; the other to Saggaros and to St. Sabinos. He sends on ahead the imperials and all the rest, that they might meet his majesty at Pylai; and the *magistroi* and *patrikioi* and others, whomever he commands, he takes with him, together with the *praipositoι*, on the warships. When the emperor is a sufficient distance from the imperial harbour, so that he can look upon the City, he rises from his couch and stands looking eastwards with his hands raised to heaven; and making the sign of the Cross three times with his hand over the City, he prays to God and says: "Lord Jesus Christ, my God, I place in Your hands this Your city. Defend it from all enemies and misfortunes which approach it, from civil strife, and from the inroads of the heathen. Guard it impregnable and unassailable, for we place our hopes in You. You are the Lord of forgiveness and Father of compassion and God of every supplication, and Yours is the power of mercy and salvation and deliverance from temptations and dangers, now and always and forever more. Amen".

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ διαπεράσαι τὸν βασιλέα θεωρεῖ τὴν προμοσέλλαν, τὰ τε
 παρίππια καὶ τὰ μωλάρια, καὶ διατάσσεται τῷ τοῦ στάβλου κόμητι καὶ τῷ
 χαρτουλαρίῳ, ἵνα, καθὼς κατωτέρω ῥηθήσεται, κομπινεύσῃ τὰ τε σαγμάρια
R. 476 καὶ τὰ παρίππια. καὶ κατὰ σαγμάριον ὀφείλει παρέχειν ὁ τῶν ὀπτιμάτων
 336 δομέστικος ὀπτιμάτων, ἐν καταγραφῇ ποιούμενος τὸ τε ὄνομα καὶ τὸ χωρίον·
 καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπόληται, ζημιούται αὐτὸ ὁ ὀπτιμάτος· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, ἀποκομίζει
 τὰς σφραγίδας εἰς τε τὸν κόμητα καὶ τὸν χαρτουλάριον. παρέχει δὲ καὶ ὁ κόμης
 τοῦ στάβλου εἰς τὰς φορτώσεις κατὰ δέκα σαγμάρια σύντροφον τῶν Μαλαγί-
 340 νων, ἵνα οἱ ὀπτιμάτοι σύρῳσι τὰ σαγμάρια, καὶ οἱ σύντροφοι ἀκολουθοῦσιν
 αὐτούς καὶ διορθοῦνται τὰ γομάρια. καὶ ὅτε ἀποφορτώσουσιν εἰς τὸ ἄπληκτον
 τὰ σαγμάρια, ἀναλαμβάνει ταῦτα ὁ χαρτουλάριος τῶν Μαλαγίνων καὶ ὁ
 σφραμεντάριος μετὰ τῶν κομητῶν καὶ τῶν συντρόφων καὶ τῶν ὀπτιμάτων,
 καὶ ἐκβάλλουσιν εἰς τὴν βοσκήν· ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τὰ παρίππια τῶν φορτώσεων ||
L II' κατὰ κ' παρίππια σύντροφος εἷς. καὶ ὅτε δώσει τὸ βούκινον, πάλιν φέρουσιν
 346 αὐτὰ καὶ παραδιδόασι, καθὼς ἐκομπινεύθησαν.

Τὴν δὲ κριθὴν ὅλην, τῶν τε σαγμαρίων καὶ παριππίων καὶ σελλαρίων, ἐν
 οἷς ἐκομπινεύθησαν, παραλαμβάνει ὁ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ στάβλου ἅμα τῷ
 κελλαρίῳ τὴν κριθὴν ἥτοι τὰς ταγὰς αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πρωτονοταρίου τοῦ
R. 477 θέματος, καὶ χορηγοῦσιν ἐκάστου ἀλόγου ταγῆν. ὁ δὲ πρωτονοτάριος λαμβά-
 351 νει διάταξιν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τῶν ἀπλήκτων καὶ ἀποτίθησιν ἐκεῖ τὴν
 κριθὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐτέραν χρεῖαν βασιλικήν.

Τὰ δὲ ξενάλια τὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ φερόμενα διὰ κριθῆς παραλαμβάνει ὁ τοῦ
 στάβλου κόμης, ἐν καταγραφῇ ποιούμενος τὴν ποσότητα, ἅμα τῷ εἰδικῷ καὶ
 355 τοῖς νοταρίοις, ποιουμένων κἀκεῖνων ταῦτα ἐν καταγραφῇ, ἵνα μετὰ τὸ γενέσ-
 θαι καταστόλιον λογαριάζηται ὁ πρωτονοτάριος καὶ ὁ χαρτουλάριος εἰς τὸ
 σέκρετον τοῦ εἰδικοῦ, ἵνα ὑπεξαίρωνται αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς χορηγίας τῶν πρωτονο-
 ταρίων.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ περάσαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἰδεῖν τὴν προμοσέλλαν διατάσσεται
 360 τῷ κόμητι καὶ διανέμει αὐτήν, καθὼς κατωτέρω ῥηθήσεται. διὰ τοῦ κόμητος
 τῶν ὀπτιμάτων τῆς ὑπουργίας ἄνδρες σ'· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ρ' ὀφείλει ἀναλαμβά-
 νεσθαι ὁ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου καὶ ὁ χαρτουλάριος ἐν καταγραφῇ λόγῳ τῶν ρ'
 ἵππαρίων τῶν παρασυρομένων. καὶ τὸν κόμητα μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων ρ' ἀναλαμβά-
 νεται ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας καὶ ὁ οἰκειακὸς

After the emperor has crossed, he inspects the imperial baggage-train, pack-horses and mules, and he orders the *komēs* of the stable and the *chartouarios* to team up the pack-animals and the pack-horses, as will be mentioned below. For each pack-animal the *domestikos* of the *Optimatoi* must provide one *Optimatos*, making a record of both his name and his village; and if it is lost, the *Optimatos* is fined accordingly; but if it dies, he takes the seals to the *komēs* and the *chartouarios*. The *komēs* of the stable provides for the loads of every ten pack-animals an attendant from the Malagina staff, so that the *Optimatoi* lead the animals, and the attendants follow them, and set the loads straight. And when they unload the pack-animals at the *aplēkton*, the *chartouarios* of Malagina and the *saphramentarios* with the *komites* and the attendants and the *Optimatoi* takes charge of them and puts them out to graze. Similarly, for the baggage pack-horses there is one attendant for every twenty horses. When the trumpet is sounded, they bring them back and hand them over in the same teams as they were beforehand.

The *chartouarios* of the stable together with the *kellarios* takes all the barley for the pack-animals, pack-horses and saddle-horses, according to the teams in which they were drawn up, from the *prōtonotarios* of the *thema*, that is to say the barley for their feed, and they issue a ration for each animal. The *prōtonotarios* obtains an order from the emperor concerning the *aplēkta*, and he deposits there the barley and every other imperial requirement.

The *komēs* of the stable takes the gifts brought to the emperor in the form of barley, noting the amount in an inventory, along with the *eidikos* and the notaries, who also note these details down, so that after the army has disbanded, the *prōtonotarios* and the *chartouarios* reckon up the cost in the bureau of the *eidikon*, so that the days during which the *prōtonotarios* provided provisions should be deducted (from the assessment owed by the *thema*).

After the emperor has crossed over (i. e. to Pylai) and viewed the baggage-train, he issues orders to the *komēs* (of the stable) and assigns it as will be described below: for the *komēs* of the *Optimatoi* attached to the service, 200 men. The *komēs* of the stable and the *chartouarios* take 100, who are recorded, for the 100 led horses. The head of the table and the *domestikos* of the household service and the personal imperial *kellarios* take the *komēs* and the other 100 men, of

365 βασιλικὸς κελλάριος· καὶ οἱ μὲν π' σύρουσι τὰ π' σαγμάρια, οἱ δὲ κ' ἀκολου-
 θοῦσι. καὶ ὅτε κατάβῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ ἄπληκτον, ἐπαίρουσιν οἱ |
R. 478 σύντροφοι καὶ οἱ ὀπτιμάτοι τὰ παρίππια τῶν ὑπουργῶν καὶ ἀπάγουσιν εἰς τὴν
 βοσκὴν πρὸς τὸν χαρτουλάριον τῶν Μαλαγίνων. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ
 φορτωσίαι καὶ πάντες οἱ κομπινευθέντες βασιλικὰ ἄλογα, ἤγουν κατὰ σαγμά-
 370 ριον ὀπτιμάτος, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται.

Εἰσὶν αἱ φορτωσίαι οὕτως·

Διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπουργίας σαγμάρια π', παρίππια ξβ'· διὰ τῆς βασι-
 λικῆς κόρτης σαγμάρια ν', παρίππια μγ'· διὰ τοῦ οἰκειακοῦ βασιλικοῦ
L 11^o βεστιαρίου σαγμάρια λ', παρίππια ιε'· || διὰ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ σαγμάρια μ' καὶ τῶν
 375 ἐβδομαρίων παρίππια ιε'· διὰ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου σαγμάρια δ', παρίππια δ'·
 διὰ τῶν κοιτωνιτῶν τῶν ιβ' σαγμάρια κδ', παρίππια κδ'· διὰ τῶν σαράκοντα
 τῶν παρισταμένων τῇ τραπέζῃ σαγμάρια κ', παρίππια κ'· διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
 ἑταιρείας ἀνδρας σ', σαγμάρια ρ', παρίππια (·)· διὰ τῶν ρ' ἐθνικῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
 ἑταιρείας σαγμάρια ν', παρίππια ρ'· διὰ τοῦ κόμητος τοῦ στάβλου σαγμάρια
 380 ιβ', παρίππια ιβ'· διὰ τοῦ χαρτουλαρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπέικτου σαγμάρια ις',
 παρίππια ις'· διὰ τοῦ ἀποθέτου τοῦ κελλαρίου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στάβλου
 σαγμάρια λ', παρίππια ιβ'· διὰ τοῦ σταβλοκόμητος τῆς πόλεως σαγμάρια β'
R. 479 καὶ πολιτικὰ ἱππάρια δύο· διὰ τῶν δύο σταβλοκομήτων σαγμάρια α' καὶ πολι-
 τικὰ ἱππάρια β'· διὰ τῶν σαράκοντα συντρόφων τῶν σελλαρίων σαγμάρια ε',
 385 παρίππια μ'· διὰ τοῦ χαρτουλαρίου τῶν Μαλαγίνων σαγμάρια ε', παρίππια
 ε'· διὰ τοῦ σαφραμενταρίου σαγμάρια β'· διὰ τῶν δ' κομήτων τῶν
 Μαλαγίνων σαγμάρια δ', παρίππια δ'· διὰ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ εἰς τὰ βασιλικὰ
 χαρτῖα σαγμάρια δύο· διὰ τοῦ δεκανοῦ εἰς τὰ βασιλικὰ χαρτῖα σαγμάρια α'
 διὰ τῶν δ' παπάδων σαγμάρια δ'· ὁμοῦ τὰ κομπινευθέντα σαγμάρια υπβ'.
 390 παρασυρτὰ τὰ εἰς ὑπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων καὶ τῶν ἀποστασιαρίων
 καὶ ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἀποβολῆς τῆς Συρίας εἰσταγὴν κριθῆς σαγμάρια ρ'· ὁμοῦ τὸ
 πᾶν σαγμάρια φπβ', καὶ τὰ παρίππια τὰ κομπινευθέντα υ'. ἱππάρια καὶ
 παρασυρτὰ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως περιπατοῦντα δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα,
 ὁμοῦ τὸ πᾶν ἱππάρια μωλάρια ,απς'· καὶ ἔστρωμένα σελλάρια λ'.

395 Καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐξέλθωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅσα ἂν λάβῃ ἐπὶ φοσσάτου ὁ
 βασιλεὺς, τούτων πάντων τῶν ἀλόγων τὰς ταγὰς παραλαμβάνει ἐκ τοῦ πρωτο-

whom 80 lead 80 pack-animals and 20 follow. When the emperor goes down to the *aplēkton*, the attendants and the *Optimatoi* take the pack-horses of the household staff, and lead them off to the *chartoularious* of Malagina for pasturing. The same procedure is followed for all the baggage and to all those teamed up with imperial animals, that is, one *Optimatos* per pack-animal, as was stated above.

The loads are as follows:

For the household service 80 pack-animals, 62 pack-horses; for the imperial tent 50 pack-animals, 43 pack-horses; for the personal imperial *vestiarion* 30 pack-animals, 15 pack-horses; for the *eidikon* 40 pack-animals, and 15 pack-horses for the *hebdomarioi*; for the *prōtovesiarios* 4 pack-animals, 4 pack-horses; for the 12 *koitōnitai* 24 pack-animals, 24 pack-horses; for the 40 table attendants 20 pack-animals, 20 pack-horses; for the 200 men of the *Hetaireia*, 100 pack-animals, . . . pack-horses; for the 100 foreigners attached to the *Hetaireia* 50 pack-animals, 100 pack-horses; for the *komēs* of the stable 12 pack-animals, 12 pack-horses; for the *chartoularious* and the *epeiktēs* 16 pack-animals, 16 pack-horses; for the supervisor of the store house of the imperial stable 30 pack-animals, 12 pack-horses; for the *stablokomēs* of the City, 2 pack-animals and 2 city horses; for the 2 *stablokomites* 1 pack-animal and 2 city horses; for the 40 attendants of the saddle-horses 5 pack-animals, 40 pack-horses; for the *chartoularious* of Malagina 5 pack-animals, 5 pack-horses; for the *saphramentarios* a pack-animal, 2 pack-horses; for the 4 *komites* of Malagina 4 pack-animals, 4 pack-horses; for the *stratiōtikon*, for imperial documents, 2 pack-animals; for the *dekanos* in charge of imperial documents, 1 pack-animal; for the 4 priests, 4 pack-animals. In total, the teamed up pack-animals number 482; (plus) 100 relief pack-animals for replacing dead and runaway animals, which transport barley fodder during the expedition into Syria. Altogether, 582 pack-animals; and the horses teamed up with them number 400; so the horses and relief horses which precede the emperor to right and left, together with the other animals, horses and mules, number altogether 1086; plus 30 saddled riding horses.

The fodder of all the animals, as many as leave the City and as the emperor takes on campaign, is provided by the *komēs* of the

νοταρίου ὁ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου καὶ ὁ χαρτουλᾶριος καὶ ὁ κελλάριος, καὶ
 χορηγοῦσιν εἰς πάντα τὰ κομπινευθέντα ἄλογα. ταγίζονται δὲ τὰ μὲν παρίππια
L 12^r καὶ τὰ μωλάρια διτάγιν, τὰ δὲ σελλάρια | τριτάγιν. ὁ δὲ || ἐπεικτής παρίσταται
R. 480 εἰς τὰς ταγὰς τῶν ἵππων καὶ εἰς τὰ καλιγώματα καὶ εἰς τὰ καπίστρια καὶ εἰς
 401 τὰ σαγίσματα καὶ εἰς τὸ ποτόν.

Θέσπισμα δὲ ἀρχαῖον τυγχάνει βασιλικόν, ἵνα μηδεὶς λαμβάνῃ χαρι-
 στικήν, μήτε μωλάριον μήτε παρίππιον, ἔχον βασιλικὴν σφραγίδα, ἵνα μὴ
 κατακοινωθῇ ἢ προμοσέλλα καὶ ἀπόληται. ἐὰν δὲ τις εὔρεθῇ τοιοῦτον ἔχων,
 405 ὡς κλέπτῃς καταδικάζεται· ἐκ δὲ τῶν μὴ ὄντων ἀλόγων ἐσφραγισμένων, ὅπου
 κελεύει ὁ βασιλεύς, δίδωσιν εἴτε ἐθνικοῖς εἴτε πρόσφυξιν εἴτε ἄλλοις τισίν, οἷς
 κελεύει καὶ βούλεται. ἐσφραγισμένον γὰρ ἵππάριον ἢ μωλάριον βασιλικῇ
 βούλλῃ οὐδενὶ δίδοται εἰς χαριστικήν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὅτε γηράσει καὶ ἀνενέργητον
 πρὸς ὁδοιπορίαν γένηται ταξειδίου, ἀλλάσσει αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν προμο-
 410 σέλλαν.

Ὅφείλει δὲ ὁ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου καὶ ὁ χαρτουλᾶριος μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων
 αὐτῶν παρίστασθαι εἰς τὰς βασιλικὰς φορτώσεις, ἵνα ἕκαστον σαγμάριον
 βαστάζῃ μοδίων ἢ γομάριν· καὶ ἂν εὔρωσι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπιφορτώματα,
 τύπτουσι τοὺς τεθεικότας τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ῥίπτουσιν αὐτά.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀποκατασταθῆναι τὴν κομπῖναν, τότε, ἐὰν κελεύει ὁ βασι-
 415 *R. 481* λεὺς περιπατεῖν τὴν μίαν κόρτην καὶ τὰς ἡμισείας τέντας, ἅμα καὶ | τῆς
 ἡμισείας ὑπουργίας, καὶ προευτρεπίζειν τὰ βασιλικὰ ἄπληκτα, γίνεται οὕτως.
 καὶ ἕως οὗ ἐνωθῇ τοῖς θέμασιν, ἢ αὐτὴ ἀκολουθία γίνεται, καὶ ἡ τάξις τῆς
 περιπατήσεως ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ φυλάττεται κατὰ τὸν τύπον τοῦ διακινήματος.

420

Περὶ τῶν κερκέτων

Ἴστέον ὅτι, ὅτε κερκετεύει ὁ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης τὰς ἐσπέρας,
 λαμβάνει φατλίον ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ, καὶ οἱ ρ' σχολάριοι, οὓς ἔχει, ποιοῦσι τὴν
 φῖναν τὴν ἔξω, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐταιρείας κρατοῦσι φῖναν ἔσω μετὰ τοῦ ἐταιρει-
 425 ἀρχου πλησίον ἔξω τῆς κόρτης, ὅπου εἰσὶ δεδεμένα τὰ σχοινία αὐτῆς· καὶ
L 12ⁿ λαμβάνει σίγνον ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μυστικῶς, εἴτε τὸν Σωτῆρα, εἴτε τὴν
 Θεοτόκον, εἴτε τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον, || εἴτε τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων τῶν στρατη-
 λατῶν, εἴτε ἄλλο τι, ὃ κελεύει ὁ βασιλεύς. καὶ ὑπαλλάσσει ἐκάστης ἐσπέρας

stable and the *chartouarios* and the *kellarios*, from the *prōtonotarios*; and they provision all the animals thus teamed up. The horses and mules are fed a double ration, the saddle-horses a triple ration. The *epeiiktēs* supervises the feed of the horses as well as their shoeing and bridling and pack-harnesses and watering.

Now there does exist an old imperial regulation, to the effect that no-one should take freely either a mule or a horse which bears an imperial brand, lest the baggage-train be dispersed and lost. If anyone is found with such a beast, he should be condemned as a thief. From the beasts that are not branded, however, the emperor orders gifts to be made wherever he commands: to foreigners, refugees, or anyone else to whom he commands and wishes. A horse or mule branded with the imperial seal is given to no-one as a gift; since otherwise, when it grows old and incapable of taking part in the march of campaign, it can be (secretly) exchanged for (another) one in the imperial retinue.

The *komēs* of the stable and the *chartouarios* with their officials ought to be present at the loading up of the imperial baggage, so that each pack-animal carries a load of eight *modioi*; and if extra loads are discovered during the march, those who loaded them on should be beaten, and the extra loads thrown off.

After the baggage-train reforms, and if the emperor orders one of the pavilions and half the number of tents to march on, together with half the imperial household service, in order to prepare the imperial encampments in advance, then this is done. This procedure is followed until the emperor joins up with the *themata*, and the order of march on the road is adhered to according to the plan of the expedition.

On camp patrols:

Know that, when the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* patrols in the evenings, he takes a torch from the *eidikon*; and the 100 *scholarioi* whom he has with him stand guard on the outer perimeter, while those in the *Hetaireia* stand guard on the inner perimeter with the *hetaireiarchēs*, near to and outside the pavilion, that is, where its guy-ropes are secured. And he (i. e. the *drouggarios*) secretly obtains a password from the emperor, either “the Saviour” or “the Theotokos” or “the Arch-General” or one of the holy martyrs and *stratēlati*, or another password, whichever the emperor commands. He

τὸ σίγνον καὶ ἴστησιν ἐπιστάτας, καὶ περιγυρεύουσι δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς τὴν φῖναν.
 τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ ἑταιρειάρχης μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἑταιρείας. καὶ ἀφ' οὗ κερκετεύσει ὁ
 430 δρουγγάριος, οὔτε κοιτωνίτης ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἔχει ἔξω τῶν σκουταρίων εἰσελ-
 R. 482 θεῖν, οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑταιρείας, οὔτε ἄλλ|λος τις μέγας ἢ μικρός, ὑπερέχων
 ἢ ὑποβεβηκώς, ἐὰν μὴ λάβῃ τὸ σίγνον ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸν
 δρουγγάριον. εἰ δὲ δοκιμάσει τις ἐξελθεῖν ἄνευ σίγνου, δεσμοῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ
 ἀπάγουσιν εἰς τὸν δρουγγάριον, καὶ ὑπομνήσκειται περὶ τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς,
 435 καὶ εἴ τι κελεύει ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ.

Εἰ δὲ λάβοι σίγνον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁπόθεν αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει ὁ δρουγγά-
 ριος, ἐκεῖθεν καὶ πάλιν εἰσάγει, καὶ ἀλλαχρόθεν οὐκ ἔξεστιν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν,
 ἐπεὶ παρὰ τῶν πεδητούρων δεσμεῖται καὶ τὸ πρῶτ' τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδίδοται.
 τοῦτο δὲ φυλάττεται μέχρι τοῦ καταστολίου.

440 "Ὅτε δὲ ἐνωθῇ τοῖς θέμασιν ὁ βασιλεὺς, γίνεται προσθήκη ἄλλης μιᾶς
 φίνας πλησίον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑταιρείας, ἡγουν ἔξω τῆς ἑταιρείας καὶ ἔσω τῶν τοῦ
 δρουγγαρίου σχολαρίων.

Διερχομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς θέμασιν, ὑπαντᾶται παρ' ἐκάστου
 θέματος, δηλονότι παρατεταγμένου ὄντος τοῦ θέματος. καὶ δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως
 445 διερχομένου, ὡς ἀπὸ διαστήματος ἱκανοῦ πρὸ τοῦ τὸν βασιλέα καταλαβεῖν,
 ἀποβαίνουσι τῶν ἵππων ὃ τε στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ θέματος καὶ
 οἱ τουρμάρχει καὶ οἱ δρουγγαροκόμητες καὶ ὁ μεράρχης καὶ ὁ κόμης τῆς
 κόρτης καὶ ὁ χαρτουλᾶριος καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τοῦ θέματος, καὶ ποιοῦσι δέξιμον.
 R. 483 καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως διερχομένου, | πίπτουσι πάντες οἱ προειρημένοι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
 450 προσκυνοῦντες τὸν βασιλέα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται πάντες ἴστανται καβαλλάριοι.
 καὶ μετὰ τὸ προσκυνῆσαι τοὺς στρατηγούς σὺν τοῖς προλεχθεῖσιν ἄρχουσιν
 L 137 ἐκνεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς ὀλίγον τῆς ὁδοῦ, λέγων || πρὸς αὐτούς· «καλῶς εὗρομεν».
 εἶτα ἐρωτᾷ αὐτούς· «πῶς ἔχετε, παιδία μου; πῶς ἔχουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν, αἱ
 νύμφαι μου, καὶ τὰ παιδία;»· κἀκεῖνοι λέγουσιν, ὅτι «ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῆς βασιλείας
 455 σου καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ δοῦλοὶ σου ὑγιαίνομεν». καὶ πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποκρίνεται·
 «χάρις τῷ ἀγίῳ Θεῷ τῷ ἐν ὑγείᾳ διατηροῦντι ἡμᾶς». καὶ πάντων τῷ βασιλεῖ
 ἐπευχομένων ὀρίζει ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ πάντας τοὺς προειρημένους
 ἄρχοντας καβαλλικεῦσαι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτῶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν
 καὶ ὠρισμένην αὐτοῖς τάξιν.

changes the password for each evening and sets up the pickets who patrol the perimeter throughout the night. The *hetaireiarchēs* does the same with the *Hetaireia*. And from the time that the *drouggarios* begins his patrol, not even a *koitōnitēs* has authority to pass outside the soldiers of the *Vigla*, nor a member of the *Hetaireia*, nor anyone else, great or small, officer or subordinate, unless he receives the password from the emperor and appears before the *drouggarios*. If someone attempts to go out without the password, they bind him and take him to the *drouggarios*, and the emperor is informed of the matter and asked what his majesty commands.

If he does obtain the password from the emperor, the *drouggarios* is to re-admit him at the same place from which he let him out; it is not permitted to let him in anywhere else, since then he will be bound by the perimeter guards and handed over to the emperor in the morning. This procedure is followed until the expeditionary force is disbanded.

When the emperor joins up with the *themata* another perimeter is added near to the soldiers of the *Hetaireia*, in other words, outside the *Hetaireia* and inside the *scholarioi* of the *drouggarios*.

Once the emperor has passed into the *themata*, he is welcomed by each *thema*, when the *thema* is drawn up in parade order, of course. When the emperor approaches, the *stratēgos* and the *prōtonotarios* of the *thema* and the *tourmarchai* and the *drouggarokomites* and the *merarchēs* and the *komēs* of the tent and the *chartoularios* and the *domestikos* of the *thema* dismount from their horses while the emperor is still some distance from reaching them, and form a reception party. And when the emperor passes through, all the aforementioned fall to the ground, paying homage to the emperor; but the soldiers all remain mounted. After the *stratēgoi* and the officers referred to have paid homage to the emperor, the latter makes a short detour from the road, saying to them: "Well met!" Then he asks them: "How are you, my children? How are your wives, my daughters-in-law, and the children?" And they reply, that "In the life of your Majesty, so we, your servants, are well". And again, the emperor responds: "Thanks be to Holy God who keeps us in health". When all have acclaimed the emperor, he commands the *stratēgos* and all the above-mentioned officers to mount up, and to leave with their army for their own ordained position.

460 Εἰ δὲ μᾶλλον κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποσωρευθῆναι τὰ τε τάγματα καὶ τὰ
 θέματα, εἴτε ἐν τῷ θέματι τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων εἰς τὸν Δαζιμῶνα, εἴτε ἐν τῷ
 θέματι τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ εἰς Καισάρειαν, εἴτε ἐν ἐτέρῳ θέματι πρὸς τὸν τόπον,
 ἐν ᾧ μέλλει φοσσατεῦσαι, ἐπιτηδείου τυγχάνοντος· καὶ ὅτε ἔλθῃ ἔγγιστα πρὸς
 τὸ ἄπληκτον ἀπὸ τριῶν μιλίων, προὔπαντῶσι τὰ τε τάγματα καὶ τὰ θέματα
 465 ἐπευχόμενοι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ πρὸς ἐν ἕκαστον τάγμα καὶ θέμα λέγει ὁ βασι-
 λεύς, ἐκνεύων πρὸς αὐτό, οὕτως· «καλῶς ὑμᾶς εὔρομεν. πῶς ἔχετε; πῶς
 R. 484 ἔ|χουσιν αἱ νύμφαι μου, αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰ παιδιά; πῶς ὑμῖν τὰ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ
 διηνύσθη; ἀγωνίσασθε, τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιῶται καὶ παιδί' ἐμά, ἵνα ἐν καιρῷ
 δέοντι ἐπιδείξησθε τὴν γενναιότητα καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν
 470 καὶ βασιλείαν ἡμῶν πίστιν ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀγάπην, ἵνα ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν ἀξίως τῆς
 ἀνδρείας καὶ γενναιότητος ὑμῶν καὶ ὀρθῆς πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης εὐνοίαν
 ἀποδεξαμένη ἀνταμείψῃται καὶ εὐεργετήσῃ καὶ τιμαῖς διαφόροις τιμήσῃ καὶ
 ἐξ ἀναξίων ἀξίους δεῖξῃ καὶ μυρία καλὰ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐνδείξῃται».

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἔρχονται ὄπιθεν τοῦ δρουγγαρίου
 475 καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐταιρείας καὶ περιπατοῦσι παρατεταγμένοι. καὶ ὅτε εὔρεθῇ
 στένωμα ἢ ποταμὸς εἴτε καὶ γέφυρα, διαπερῶσι τὰ τάγματα ἔμπροσθεν·
 L 13^v πρῶτον μὲν αἱ σχολαί, δεῦτερον τὰ ἐξκούβιτα, τρίτον ὁ ἀριθμὸς, || τέταρτον
 ὁ ἱκανάτος· ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ θέματα.

Καὶ καθὼς ὁ τύπος ἔχει, περιπατοῦσιν οἱ μάγιστροι καὶ οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ
 480 οἱ κοιτωνῖται καὶ οἱ βασιλικοὶ εὐνοῦχοι· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς καὶ παρ' αὐτὰ
 προσκαλεῖται τοὺς μαγίστρος καὶ πατρικίους, καὶ ᾄτινι ἂν κελεύῃ, συντυγχά-
 νει, καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν τάξιν τῶν πατρικίων περιπατοῦσιν οἱ κοιτωνῖται, ὅπισθεν
 δὲ ὀλίγον περιπατεῖ ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, καὶ ὅπισθεν
 αὐτῶν ὡς λίθου βολὴν περιπατοῦσιν οἱ εὐνοῦχοι καὶ πατρίκιοι καὶ πρωτοσπα-
 R. 485 θάριοι· ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως περιπατοῦσιν οἱ πραιπόσιτοι καὶ τὸ
 486 κουβούκλιον, καὶ μέσον τῶν πραιποσίτων περιπατεῖ κουβικουλάριος βαστάζων
 τὰ τίμια καὶ ζωποιά ξύλα μετὰ τῆς θήκης ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου· ἔμπροσθεν δὲ
 τοῦ κουβουκλίου περιπατοῦσιν οἱ βασιλικοὶ καὶ μέσον τούτων περιπατεῖ
 σιγνοφόρος βαστάζων σταυρὸν χρυσοῦν διάλιθον. ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τῶν βασιλι-
 490 κῶν περιπατοῦσιν ἀπὸ δύο σαγγιτοβόλων παρασυρτὰ βασιλικά ἰπάρια ρ'
 μετὰ σαγισμάτων ἀληθινῶν καὶ βορκαδίων δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα. καὶ δύο
 κανδιδάτοι, εἴτε καὶ σπαθάριοι, δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα τοῦ βασιλέως περιπατοῦσι
 καβαλλάριοι ὡς ἀπὸ διαστήματος μετὰ σκουταρίων καὶ τοὺς προσερχομένους

But if, on the other hand, the emperor orders the *tagmata* and *themata* to assemble either in the *thema* of the *Armeniakoï* at Dazimōn, or in the *thema* of Charsianon at Kaisareia, or in another *thema*, near the lands where it is intended to campaign, the necessary arrangements are made. And when he has come to within a distance of three miles of the camp, the *tagmata* and *themata* come out to meet him, acclaiming him. The emperor says to each and every *tagma* and *thema*, turning towards them: "Well met! How are you? How are my daughters-in-law, your wives; and (your) children? How did you get on during the march? Strive, soldiers of Christ and my children, so that in time of need you will show your nobility of spirit and your bravery, as well as your true devotion and love for God and our majesty; and so that our majesty, displaying good will, may worthily repay and reward your courage and nobility and true faith and love; and honour you with various honours; and award dignities to those who previously had none, and distinguish you with countless benefits".

After addressing these words to them, they fall in behind the *drouggarios* and the soldiers of the *Hetaireia* and advance in formation. And whenever a narrow pass or river or bridge is encountered, the *tagmata* cross first: first the *Scholai*, second the *Exkoubita*, third the *Arithmos*, fourth the *Hikanatoi*; and likewise for the *themata*.

And as custom ordains, the *magistroï* and *patrikioï* and *koitōnitai* and imperial eunuchs march along (together); and there and then the emperor summons to his side the *magistroï* and *patrikioï*, and whomever he commands accompanies him. The *koitōnitai* march in the body of the *patrikioï*; a little behind march the *prōtovesiarios* and the head of the table; and behind them, at a stone's throw, the eunuch *patrikioï* and the *prōtospatharioï*. In front of the emperor march the *praipositoï* and the *koubouklion*, and in the middle of the *praipositoï* marches a *koubikoularios* carrying the holy and life-giving wood of the Cross, with the case about his neck. In front of the *koubouklion* march the imperial officers, and in their midst marches a *signophoros* bearing a golden, bejewelled cross. In front of the imperial officers, at a distance of two bowshots, are led 100 imperial horses to right and left, with purple blankets and brocade trappers. Two *kandidatoï*, or *spatharioï*, to the right and left of the emperor, ride along at a given distance with shields; and they receive those who approach and lead them to the emperor. These

ἐπαίρουσι καὶ εἰσάγουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπερωτῶνται παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὅ τι
 495 ἂν δέονται, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνονται τὰ δεητικὰ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδίδουσιν αὐτὰ εἰς
 τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων.

Καὶ ὅτε καταλάβῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἄπληκτον, ἔνθα ἡ βασιλικὴ ἴσταται
 κόρτη, καλεῖ τοὺς μαγίστρους, τὸν δομέστικον τῶν σχολῶν καὶ πραιποσίτους,
 τοὺς ἀνθυπατοπατρικίους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ὀφφικιαλίους καὶ κλεισουργ-
 500 ἄρχας, καὶ συνευφραίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης.

Ἰστέον ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἄπληκτον, εἰ κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς, καθὼς πολλάκις
 Βασίλειος ὁ αἰδιμος βασιλεὺς ἐποίησε, δίδωσι τῷ μὲν στρατηγῷ ἱμάτιον
L 14' ἔρραμμένον μετὰ τριβλαττίων, || τοῖς τουρμάρχαις ἀνὰ ἱματίου ἔρραμμένου
R. 486 μετὰ διβλαττίων βδελλίων, τῷ μεράρχῃ, τῷ κόμητι τῆς κόρτης, τῷ χαρτουλα-
 505 ρίῳ καὶ τῷ δομεστικῷ τοῦ θέματος δίδωσιν ἀνὰ ἱματίου ἐνὸς ἔρραμμένου
 λιτοῦ· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς θέμασι τελεῖται. τῶν
 δὲ Ἀρμενικῶν θεμάτων τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ κλεισουράρχαις δίδωσιν, εἰ κε-
 λεύει, ἀνὰ ἱματίου ἔρραμμένου μετὰ διβλαττίων, ἀετῶν ἢ καὶ βασιλικίων, τοῖς
 δὲ μεγάλοις τούτων τουρμάρχαις λιτὰ ἐπιδίδωσιν ἱμάτια, τῷ δὲ μεράρχῃ καὶ
 510 τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνὰ ἱματίου ἔρραμμένου λιτοῦ δεκαλίου ἐπιδίδωσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ φόρου ἀγοραζομένων.

Ἰστέον ὅτι, ὅτε ἀποκινήσει ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους πρὸς τὴν Συρίαν,
 καταλιμπάνει τοῦλδον καὶ τὴν μίαν κόρτην καὶ τὰς περισσὰς τέντας καὶ τὰ
 συστελτὰ τραπέζια, καὶ ἄλλη ὄση ἂν ἦ ἀποσκευή, καὶ τὰ πτωχὰ ἄλογα καὶ τὰ
 515 χωλά, καὶ παραλαμβάνει αὐτὰ ὁ πρωτονοτάριος τοῦ θέματος, ὅθεν ἀποβάλλῃ
 ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὴν Συρίαν, μετὰ καὶ ἀρχόντων τῶν στάβλων τῶν Μαλαγίνων
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν σελλαρίων σταβλοκομήτων μετὰ τῶν συντρόφων· καὶ εἰς οἶον ἂν
 θέμα μέλλῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ Συρίας, ἀντιπαραδίδωσι ταῦτα ὁ πρωτο-
 νοτάριος τῷ πρωτονοταρίῳ τοῦ θέματος ἐκεῖνου, καὶ σωμασχεῖ τὰ ἄλογα τὰ |
R. 487 βασιλικά, ἴνα, ὅταν ἐξέλθῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ Συρίας, εὐρήσει αὐτὰ ἀναπεπαι-
 521 μένα καὶ ἐσταβλισμένα, καὶ ἔχει πᾶσαν χρεῖαν βασιλικὴν ἐτοιμῆν. καὶ πάντες
 οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ παρακάτω ποιοῦσιν ἀποβολὴν καὶ συνακολουθοῦσι τῷ
 τούλδῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ.

Ὁ δὲ μινσουράτωρ ἔχει πλωτὰ κεντουκλείνα ἐνδεδυμένα λινοβένετα,
 525 καθὼς προεῖρηται, καὶ γίνεται ἡ βασιλικὴ τράπεζα χαμόκουμβα. τὰ δὲ

petitioners are asked by him what they seek, and their requests are handed over, and the *kandidatoi* give them to the secretary of requests.

When the emperor reaches the *aplēkton* where the imperial pavilion is pitched, he calls the *magistroi*, the *domestikos* of the *Scholai*, and the *praipositoï*, the *stratēgoi* of *anthypatos* and *patrikios* rank, and the staff of the various departments and the *kleisourarchai*, and he entertains them at table.

Note, that in the *aplēkton*, if the emperor so commands, as did often the glorious emperor Basil, he presents the *stratēgos* with a tailored garment with a triple border of silk, the *tourmarchai* each with a tailored garment with a double border decorated with hornets; and the *merarchēs*, the *komēs* of the tent, the *chartoularios* and the *domestikos* of the *thema* each with a garment with a single border of silk. This takes place in the great, Roman *themata*. The *stratēgoi* and *kleisourarchai* of the Armenian *themata* are each presented, if he so commands, with a tailored garment with a double border of silk, with eagles or with imperial symbols; the great *tourmarchai* are each presented with garments with a single border of silk; the *merarchēs* and the rest receive each a tailored garment with a single border of 10 *nomismata* in value, from among those purchased on the market.

Note, that when the emperor sets off into the deserted lands towards Syria, he leaves behind a baggage-train and one pavilion and the superfluous tents and folding tables, and other such equipment, as well as the poor and lame beasts. And once the emperor has marched into Syria, the *prōtonotarios* of the *thema* takes them, along with the officers from the stables at Malagina and the *stablokomites*, together with the attendants of the saddle-horses, and hands them over to the *prōtonotarios* of whichever *thema* the emperor intends to return to. And the latter exercises the imperial animals, so that when the emperor leaves Syria, he will find them rested and stabled, and will have every imperial requirement to hand. All the remaining officials and officers of lower rank deposit their unnecessary baggage and accompany the imperial baggage-train.

The *minsouratōr* has flax-blue covered patchwork cushions, just as mentioned already, and imperial meals are taken reclining. The imperial cooks prepare the food for the next day in the evening. The

πρόφαγα ποιούσιν οἱ βασιλικοὶ μάγειροι τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ. οἱ δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα ὀπτιμά-
 τοι σύρουσι τὰ σαγμάρια τὰ βασιλικά καὶ οἱ κ' ἀκολουθοῦσιν εἰς διόρθωσιν
L 14 τῶν σαγμαρίων. ὁμοίως καὶ || οἱ μάγειροι καὶ οἱ σύντροφοι τῶν Μαλαγίνων ·
 καὶ ὅτε εὗρωσι ξύλα ἢ δένδρα εἰς ἐρήμους τόπους κείμενα, κόπτουσιν οἱ
 530 σύντροφοι καὶ οἱ μάγειροι καὶ ἐπαίρουσι πρὸς ἓν ξύλον καὶ ἀποκομίζουσι πρὸς
 τὸ βασιλικὸν μαγειρεῖον.

Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀποκίνησιν τοῦ τούλδου ὀφείλει ὁ τῆς τραπέζης φορτῶσαι τὰ
 π' βασιλικά σαγμάρια πᾶσαν χρεῖαν βασιλικήν · καὶ ὀφείλει λαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ
 πρωτονοταρίου εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης καὶ εἰς τοὺς μαϊουμάδας
 535 πρόβατα ὕπαρνα ρ', κριάρια φ', ἀγελάδια ν', ὄρνιθας σ', χηνάρια ρ'.

“Ὅτε δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ῥωμανίαν, λαμβάνουσιν μαϊουμάδα ἐκ τῶν
 ξεναλίων οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἄγουροι καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐταιρείας καὶ οἱ κορτινάριοι καὶ
R. 488 οἱ ἐβδομάριοι τοῦ εἰδικοῦ καὶ οἱ σύντροφοι τῶν σελλαρίων, | ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ
 μάγειροι. καὶ ὅτε ἀποβάλῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους, λαμβάνουσιν καθ'
 540 ἐκάστην κυριακὴν μαϊουμᾶν καὶ ἀνὰ μιλιαρησίου. λαμβάνουσιν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς
 φῖνας τῶν σχολαρίων τῆς ἔσω καὶ τῆς ἔξω καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως ἀνὰ μιλιαρησίου,
 ἐπειδὴ, ἀφ' οὗ ἀποκινήσει πρὸς Συρίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς, δύο φῖναι κυκλοῦσιν τὴν
 βασιλικὴν κόρτην. καὶ ὅσοι ἄρχοντες παραμένουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ, λαμβάνουσιν,
 εἰ κελεύει πολλάκις ὁ βασιλεὺς τούτους εὐεργετεῖν, διὰ μιλιαρησίων · εἰ μὲν
 545 εἰσὶν ἄρχοντες μεγάλοι τῶν ταγματῶν εἴτε καὶ θεμάτων, ὀφείλουσι λαμβάνειν
 ἀνὰ μιλιαρησίων δύο ἢ τριῶν εἴτε καὶ δ', πρὸς τὴν ποιότητα τοῦ προ-
 σώπου.

Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀποβολὴν τοῦ τούλδου, ὅσοι καβαλλικεῦοσι βασιλικά ἄλογα
 καὶ ἔχουσι σαγμάρια βασιλικά, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἄλογα τὰ βασιλικά ὀφείλουσι
 550 λαμβάνειν κριθάριον ἀνὰ μοδίων δ' εἰς ταγὴν αὐτῶν · ὁμοίως καὶ ὅσα εἰσὶ
 σελλάρια γυμνά, βαστάζουσιν ὑποκάτω τῶν σαγισμάτων ἀνὰ μοδίων η' · καὶ
 ὅσα παρίππια ἔχει ὁ κόμης τοῦ στάβλου βασιλικά καὶ σαγμάρια, φορτοῖ αὐτὰ
 ἀνὰ δέκα μοδίων κριθῆς.

‘Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ὀφείλει ἔχειν ἐξκουσάτους ἐκ τοῦ θέματος τοῦ
L 15 Ὀψικίου ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ Τέμβρη μετὰ καὶ δικτύων, ἵνα κρατῶ||σιν ὀψά|ρια
R. 489 εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς τῆς ἐρήμου.

557 “Ὅτε δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ῥωμανίαν, καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον θέμα ὑπηρε-
 τοῦσιν οἱ πρωτονοτάριοι, ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ κόμητες τῆς κόρτης, καὶ παρέχουσιν
 ἀγγαριδία τῷ δρουγγαρίῳ τῆς βίγλης εἰς τὰς βασιλικὰς δουλείας. ὅτε δὲ
 560 ὑπάρχει ὁ δρουγγάριος εἰς βασιλικὴν δουλείαν, ἐκπροσωπεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱκανάτος.

80 *Optimatoi* lead the imperial pack-animals, and 20 *Optimatoi* follow them to keep the loads straight. Likewise the cooks and the attendants from Malagina (with their animals); and when they find wood or trees lying in unpopulated areas, the cooks and attendants should chop them up and take them to the imperial kitchen, each carrying a log.

For the departure of the baggage-train, the head of the table should load the 80 pack-animals with all the imperial requirements, and should obtain from the *prōtonotarios* 100 suckling lambs, 500 rams, 50 cattle, 200 chickens and 100 geese, for consumption at the imperial table and for feasts.

When the emperor is in Rōmania, the imperial esquires and the soldiers of the *Hetaireia* and the tent-attendants and the *hebdomarioi* of the *eidikon* and the attendants of the saddle-horses, as well as the cooks, receive provisions for a feast from the gifts presented to the emperor. When the emperor sets off into the deserted lands, they take such provisions each Sunday, as well as one *miliarēsion* each. Similarly, the *scholarioi* of the inner and outer perimeters receive also one *miliarēsion* each since, after the emperor has set out for Syria, two perimeters encircle the imperial pavilion. If the emperor often orders that they be issued largesses, those officers who remain with the emperor receive *miliarēsia*, two or three *miliarēsia* each if they are higher officers in the *tagmata* or *themata*, or even four, according to the rank of the person.

With regard to those who ride imperial horses and have imperial pack-animals when the baggage-train sets off, the imperial horses ought to take 4 *modioi* each of barley for their fodder; unriden saddle-horses carry likewise 8 *modioi* each below their pack-saddles. And the imperial pack-horses and pack-animals which the *komēs* of the stable has, he loads with 10 *modioi* each.

The head of the table ought to have exempted persons from the *Opsikion thema*, from the village of Tembrēs, with nets, so that they can catch fish in the rivers of the uninhabited regions.

While the emperor is in Rōmania, the *prōtonotarioi* are at his service in each particular *thema*, likewise the *komites* of the tents, and they provide the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* with supplies for the imperial service raised through compulsory exactions. When the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* is engaged on the imperial service, the *domestikos* of the *Hikanatoi* represents him.

“Οτε δὲ ἀποβάλλῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους, οὔτε ἡ κόρτη προλαμβάνει οὔτε τὰ βασιλικά πράγματα οὔτε ἄλλου τινὸς οἰονδήποτε πράγμα, πλὴν οὐς ἔχει ὀρίσειν ὁ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης ἀπὸ προστάξεως τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ τῶν θεμάτων. προφυλάττουσι καὶ περιπατοῦσιν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς ἀπὸ
565 μιλίων δύο ἀκρίται φ’, ἄνδρες ἐξωπλισμένοι, καὶ ἕτερον θέμα, οἷον ὀρίσει, ἵνα ὡσι πλαγιοφύλακες, ὡς ἀπὸ διαστήματος τοῦ βασιλέως μιλίων δύο, καὶ ἕτερα δύο θέματα, οἷα ὀρίσει ὁ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης ἐκ προστάξεως τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα ὡσιν ὀπισθοφύλακες. καὶ ὑπαλλάσσει τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐκάστη ἡμέρα.

Καὶ παραλαμβάνει ὁ δρουγγάριος τοὺς κόμητας τῆς κόρτης τῶν θεμάτων καὶ ἔχει αὐτοὺς εἰς παραμονὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὸ θεῖναι τὴν κόρτην καὶ εἰς τὸ ρίψαι μετὰ τῶν κορτιναρίων. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ καλοῦνται κόμητες τῆς
R. 490 κόρτης. καὶ ὅτε θέλει κερκετεῦσαι ὁ δρουγγάριος τὰ θέματα, ἢ ἡγουν κατὰ
575 νύκτα, ἔχει μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς αὐτοὺς κόμητας τῆς κόρτης τῶν θεμάτων καὶ μανδάτορας καὶ δύο φατλία ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ βεστιαρίου καὶ περιγυρεῖ τὰ θέματα καὶ θεωρεῖ τὰς πεδητούρας καὶ τὰ ἐξωβίγλια, καὶ ἂν εὔρη τινὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀμελοῦντας ἐκ τῶν μενόντων εἰς τὴν πεδητούραν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐξωβίγλια, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τουρμαρχῶν καὶ κατωτέρω τύπτει αὐτοὺς ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ καθὼς εὔρη, ἀναγγέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ.

‘Ο δὲ πρωτοστράτωρ τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ καὶ στρατόρων τριῶν βασιλικῶν ἅμα τῷ κόμητι τοῦ στάβλου καὶ τρισὶν ἵππαριόις ἐστρωμένοις ποιοῦσι παρα-
L 15^v μόνιμα ὀπισθεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἢ πύργου, ἕως οὗ ἐκβῆ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ Συρίας.

Τὰ δὲ ἵππάρια τὰ σεσαγισμένα καὶ παρασυρόμενα οὐκέτι περιπατοῦσιν ἔμπροσθεν, ἀλλ’ ὅπου ἐστὶν ἡ προμοσέλλα ἢ βασιλική, ἐκεῖ βόσκονται μετὰ
585 τῶν λοιπῶν, καὶ ἐπιτηρεῖ αὐτὰ ὁ βασιλικὸς σταβλοκόμης, ποιῶν τὴν πρόνοιαν αὐτῶν.

“Οτε δὲ ἀπόληται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ οἰονδήποτε πράγμα, ὁ εὔρηκὼς φέρει αὐτὸ καὶ δίδωσι τῷ δρουγγαρίῳ τῆς βίγλης, καὶ ὁ ἀπολέσας ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν δρουγγάριον καὶ λαμβάνει τὸ ἴδιον εὐχερῶς. εἰ δὲ ὁ εὔρηκὼς τὸ πράγμα
590 ἀποκρύψει αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων εὔρεθῆ, ὡς κλέπτῃς καταδικάζεται.

Ἰστέον ὅτι, τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντος, λαμβάνουσιν οἱ μάγιστροι καὶ οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ οἱ πρωτοσπαθάριοι ὀφφικιάλιοι μαΐουμαῖν· οἱ μὲν μάγιστροι

When the emperor sets off into the deserted regions, neither the pavilion, nor the imperial baggage, nor anyone else's baggage goes on ahead, except for those from the *themata* ordered to do so by command of the emperor, by the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla*: 500 frontier soldiers, fully-armed, march and serve as a vanguard up to two miles in front of the emperor; and another *thema*, whichever he commands, should serve as flank-guards, up to two miles distant from the emperor; and a further two *themata*, which the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* orders according to the emperor's command, should act as rearguards. And he changes them around each day.

The *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* takes the *komites* of the tent of the *themata*, and places them in attendance upon the emperor, for erecting the pavilion and taking it down, together with the tent-attendants. This is, in fact, why they are called *komites* of the tent. When the *drouggarios* wishes to patrol the *themata*, that is to say, at night, he has with him these *komites* of the tents of the *themata*, and *mandatores*, and two torches from the imperial *vestiarion*; he makes a circuit about the *themata*, and inspects the perimeter guards and the outer pickets; and if he discovers some of the officers posted to the perimeter or to the outer picket-line failing in their duties, he beats those of the rank of *tourmarchēs* and below severely, and he reports them as soon as he discovers them to the emperor.

The *prōtostratōr* of the emperor, together with three imperial *stratores*, the *komēs* of the stable, and three saddled horses, form up in attendance behind the imperial column until the emperor leaves Syria.

The horses with pack-saddles that are led along never march at the front, but graze with the other animals wherever the imperial baggage-train is to be found; the imperial *stablokomēs* supervises and takes care of them.

When anything is lost by someone on the expedition, the finder brings it and hands it over to the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla*; while the loser comes to the *drouggarios* and receives his possessions straightforwardly. But if the finder of the item conceals it and is eventually found out, he should be condemned as a thief.

Note that when the emperor is in Syria, the *magistroi* and *patrikioi* and the civil *prōtopatharioi* receive provisions for a feast: the *magistroi* 2 beasts each for slaughter; the *patrikioi* 1 each; the civil *prōtopatharioi* 1 for two persons, (and this takes place) each

R. 491 ἀνά δύο σφακτῶν, | οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι ἀνά σφακτοῦ ἑνός, οἱ δὲ πρωτοσπαθάριοι
 ὀφφικιάλιοι σὺν δύο τὸ σφακτὸν ἐκάστη κυριακῇ, τὸ δὲ χῦμα τοῦ λαοῦ, ἤγουν
 595 οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἄγουροι καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑταιρείας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ σὺν δέκα τὸ
 σφακτόν· οἱ δὲ ἔθνικοι σὺν λ' τὸ ἀγελάδιν τὸ α'. ὅτε δὲ ἔστιν εἰς Ῥωμανίαν
 ὁ βασιλεὺς, λαμβάνουσιν μαῖουμᾶν οἱ προειρημένοι ἐκ τῶν ξεναλίων. εἰ δὲ
 ξενάλια οὐκ εἰσι, χορηγοῦσιν οἱ πρωτονοτάριοι.

Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας ὀφείλουσι
 600 βαστάζειν ὑπηρεσίαν βασιλικὴν τραπεζίου, δηλονότι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Συρίᾳ
 ὄντος, εἰς ἄσκούς οἶνον Νικαινὸν παλαιὸν μέτρα ρ' καὶ ἔλαιον Νικαινὸν μέτρα
 λ', καὶ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰνοχόος οἶνον δεσποτικὸν τὸν ἀρκοῦντα· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ
 πάντα ὀφείλουσιν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς χορηγίας τῶν πρωτονοταρίων,
 ἤγουν ἀπὸ Ῥωμανίας.

605 Ὅτι τὰ ἱππάρια τὰ ἐστρωμένα, ὅτε εἰσὶν ἐν Συρίᾳ, περιπατοῦσιν ἔμπροσ-
 θεν μετὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν σελλαρίων καὶ βόσκονται ἔσωθεν τῆς φίνας.

L 16' Ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις, υἱὲ πολυέραστε, καλὸν || εἰς γνῶσιν
 ἀνήκειν τὴν σὴν. ἡ γὰρ τῆς πλείονος γνώσεως πείρα εἰώθυϊα τεχνουῖν τὴν
 διάνοιαν τῶν ἐχόντων διὰ σπουδῆς τῶν προσηκόντων μηδὲν ἀγνοεῖν, ὕστερον

R. 492 αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας εὐτολμοτέρους ἐργάζεται πολλῶ καὶ ἀσφα|λεστέ-
 611 ρους.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν πρὸ ἡμῶν σοι προεκτεθεῖσαν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων ἐκ-
 θεσιν, πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα πειθόμενος, ἀνέγνως καλῶς, προσῆχον ἄρα σοι καὶ
 τὰ πρὸ τῶν ταξειδίων γινόμενα διελθεῖν τε καὶ ἐκμαθεῖν, ὅπως διὰ φανῶν
 615 τινων καὶ λαμπάδων τῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς πρὶν ἀνημμένων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μιᾷ ὥρᾳ
 τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐθύς κατεμάνθανεν ἔφοδον. ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν προκειμένων σοι
 κεφαλαίων ταῦτα τρανώτερον δηλωθήσεται.

Ἰστέον ὅτι, τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ Ταρσοῦ Σαρακηνῶν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξερχο-
 μένων, εὐθέως τὸ κάστρον τὸ λεγόμενον Λοῦλον ἐν περιόπτῳ προσκείμενον
 620 ἐξῆπτε φανόν, ὃν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὁ καλούμενος Ἀργέας βουνὸς διεδέχετο, καὶ
 ἦπτε δὲ καὶ αὐτός· καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ὁ βουνὸς ὁ Σάμος ἀνήπτε·
 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐδέχετο τὸ κάστρον τὸ Αἴγιλον, καὶ ἦπτε καὶ αὐτό· καὶ ἀπ'
 αὐτὸ ἐδέχετο ὁ βουνὸς ὁ Ὀλυμπος, καὶ ἦπτε ἐν κορυφῇ· καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον
 ἐδέχετο ὁ βουνὸς ὁ Κύριζος, καὶ ἦπτε καὶ αὐτός· καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἐδέχετο ὁ
 625 βουνὸς ὁ Μούκιλος ἐπάνω τῶν Πυλῶν, καὶ ἦπτε καὶ αὐτός· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον

Sunday. The rest of the retinue, that is, the imperial esquires, the soldiers in the *Hetaireia* and the rest, receive 1 slaughtered animal for ten persons; the foreigners (attached to the *Hetaireia*) receive 1 cow for thirty persons. When the emperor is in Rōmania, the above-mentioned receive these provisions from the gifts (offered to the emperor); if there are none, then the *prōtonotarioi* provide.

The head of the table and the *domestikos* of the household service ought to transport the imperial table-service; and when the emperor is in Syria, of course, 100 measures of vintage Nicaean wine in skins; and 30 measures of Nicaean oil; and the imperial wine-server (should bring) sufficient imperial wine. All the rest (of the provisions) ought to be drawn from the supplies of the *prōtonotarioi*, that is, from Rōmania.

Note that the saddled horses, when they are in Syria, march on ahead with the imperial riding horses, and graze within the perimeter.

Dearest son, it is good that, in addition to the foregoing, these things come also to your understanding. For familiarity with the greater part of knowledge usually has the result that the minds of those who attain knowledge through diligent study of what is necessary are ignorant of nothing; and furthermore, causes them to be more courageous and more secure in their undertakings.

And since, placing trust in your father in all things, you have read the description of imperial expeditions before our time set out for you carefully, it is surely becoming that you learn and go through the events which occur before a campaign, and how, through certain torches and beacons lit in succession, the emperor learns immediately of the enemy attack, within one hour. But the paragraphs below will make things clearer to you.

One ought to know that when in former years the Saracens from Tarsos attacked the Romans, the fortress called Loulon straightway lit a beacon in a conspicuous place nearby, which the mountain called Argeas received next, and lit a beacon itself. And from there a beacon on Mt. Samos was lit; and after that the fortress at Aigilon received it, and lit one in turn; and then on to Mt. Olympos, which lit a beacon on the peak. From there Mt. Kyrizos received it, and it also lit a beacon. Then Mt. Mokilos above Pylai received it, and lit a beacon; and after this the hill of St. Auxentios, called the "look-

ἐδέχετο ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου Αὐξεντίου βουνός ὁ Σκοπὸς προσαγορευόμενος, καὶ ἦπτε καὶ αὐτός· καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐδέχετο ὁ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τοῦ Φάρου ἡλιακός, καὶ ἦπτε καὶ αὐτός. διαιτάριοι γὰρ ἐκεῖσε βίγλας ἀεὶ καὶ πάντοτε κρατοῦντες πρὸς τὸ μὴ λαθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀκριβῶς ἀπεσκόπουσαν πρὸς τὸν βουνὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Αὐξεν-
630 τίου.

R. 493 Ἰστέον ὅτι, τῶν | φανῶν τούτων πάντων ἀψάντων, εὐθὺς οἱ χαρτουλάριοι
L 16" τῶν ἔξω στάβλων καὶ σαφραμεντάριοι ἐκαλίγουν τὰ βασιλικά ἄλογα || καὶ τὰ
βασιλικά σαγμαρία εὐτρεπίσαντες εὐθὺς ἐκίνουν καὶ κατήρχοντο εἰς τὴν τοῦ
βασιλέως ἀπάντησιν ἐν Πύλαις. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐξήρχετο μέχρι τῶν Πυλῶν, τὰ
635 δὲ βασιλικά σελλάρια καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως
ἐξερχόμενοι τῆς ξηρᾶς προελάμβανον τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Πύλας· καὶ ὅτε τὸ τῶν
Σαρακηνῶν φοσσάτον ὠφθη τισὶ πρὸς τὰ τῆς Ῥωμανίας συστάμενα, ἦν ὁ
βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ.

Ἰστέον ὅτι οἱ προῤῥηθέντες φανοὶ διεκράτουν μέχρι τῶν ἡμερῶν Μιχαὴλ
640 βασιλέως τοῦ ἐκ Θεοφίλου. ὄντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ποτε ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος
προκένσω καὶ μέλλοντος ποιῆσαι ἵπποδρόμιον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀντὶ βασιλέως ἡνίοχος
ἐγνωρίζετο — καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἱππηλασίαις ἀντὶ ἡνιόχου ἱππηλάτει —, συνέβη
τοὺς συνήθεις ἄψαι φανούς, καὶ εἶπε τοῦτο διαλογισάμενος, ὅτι «εἰ κατάδηλος
γένηται ἡ ἐξοδος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, λυπηθήσονται οἱ πολῖται, καὶ οὐ μὴ
645 ἐξέλθωσιν εἰς τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἐμὴν ἱππηλασίαν θεάσασθαι». καὶ
ἐκ τότε διετάξατο μὴ ἄπειν τοὺς φανούς.

R. 494 Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν τύπος ἦν τὰ θέματα ῥογεύεσθαι κα|τὰ τέσσαρα
ἔτη, οἰονεὶ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀνατολικός, ὁ Ἀρμενιάκος, ὁ Θρακῆσιος· τῷ
δὲ ἐτέρῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Ὀψικιανός, ὁ Βουκελλάριος, ὁ Καππάδοξ· τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ
650 χρόνῳ ὁ Χαρσιανίτης, ὁ Κολωνεῖας, ὁ Παφλαγονίας· καὶ πάλιν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ὁ τῆς
Θράκης, ὁ Μακεδονίας, ὁ Χαλδίας. καὶ τῶν δ' χρόνων διελθόντων, πάλιν
ἐῤῥογεύοντο τὰ ῥογευθέντα θέματα τῷ πρώτῳ χρόνῳ.

Δέον πάντας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ποιεῖν τε παραγγελίαν εἰς τοὺς τουρμάρχας
αὐτῶν, κάκεινοι εἰς τοὺς δρουγαροκόμητας, ἵνα ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ βάνδῳ ἔχωσι
655 τὸν κωμοδρόμον αὐτῶν, ὁμοίως καὶ τζαγγάριν, καὶ κατὰ βάνδον ἔχωσι πρὸς

628 ἐκεῖσαι L || 629 μι L || 637 σαρακινῶν L || 642 καὶ ... ἱππηλάτει
interel. R. || 644 ἐξωδος L | σαρακινῶν L || 648 Ἀρμενιάκος R. || 650
Παφλαγωνίας L || 654 βάντῳ L R. || 655 κομοδρόμον L R. | βάντον L R.

out", received the message and lit its own beacon; and from there the solar Pharos in the palace received it, and its beacon was lit. For the *diaitarioi* maintained constantly a permanent watch there, so that nothing escaped them, carefully keeping a look-out in the direction of the hill of St. Auxentios.

Note that, when all the beacons were lit, the *chartoularioi* of the outer (i. e. provincial) stables and the *saphramentarioi* would shoe the imperial horses and, when they had got the imperial pack-animals ready, would set off immediately, and march down to meet the emperor at Pylai. The emperor went out as far as Pylai, while the imperial riding-horses, the officers and the rest from the City, leaving the mainland, preceded the emperor to Pylai. And as soon as the Saracen army was seen by anyone approaching Roman territory, the emperor was ready to meet them without delay.

Note that the above-mentioned beacons were in use until the days of Michael the emperor, the son of Theophilos. But one day, when he was in the procession in the St. Mamas district and intending to hold a chariot race, in which he used to take part as a charioteer rather than as the emperor (for he rode in the chariot races himself, rather than one of the charioteers), it happened that the usual beacons were lit, and he made the following objection, that "if the invasion of the Saracens is made known, the citizens will be distressed and will not come out to the hippodrome to see me in the chariot race". And he ordered that from that time the beacons should not be lit.

Know, that it was the custom of old that the *themata* should be paid every four years; thus in the first year the *Anatolikon*, the *Armeniakon*, the *Thrakēsion*; the next year the *Opsikion*, the *Boukellarion*, and Kappadokia; the year after Charsianon, Kolōneia and Paphlagonia; and once again the next year those of Thrace, Macedonia and Chaldia. When the four years had passed, the *themata* paid in the first year were paid once more.

All the *stratēgoi* should issue orders to their *tourmarchai*, and the latter to their *drouggarokomites*, so that each and every *bandon* has its smithy and likewise its bootmakers. And each *bandon* should

ἓνα ἄσκον βόειον καὶ ἀνά δύο ἄσκῶν ἀπισίων πρὸς τὸ εὐκόλως διαπερᾶν αὐ- ||
L 17' τοὺς τοὺς βαθεῖς καὶ δυσκόλους ποταμούς· ἔχῃσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐργαλεῖα αὐτῶν
 ἀνελλιπῶς, ἤγουν ἀξινάριν ἓν, σκεπάριν α', σμιλάριν α' μετὰ τοῦ ξυλοσφύρου
 αὐτοῦ· τὴν αὐτὴν παραγγελίαν ποιεῖν καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν καὶ εἰς
 660 τὸν τοποτηρητὴν τῶν σχολῶν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ κόμητες κατὰ μίαν σχολὴν τὴν αὐτὴν
 ἀκολουθίαν ἔχῃσιν. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἐξκούβιτος εἰς τοὺς σκρίβωνας αὐτοῦ
 ποιήσει τὴν αὐτὴν παραγγελίαν, καὶ ὁ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης εἰς τοὺς
 κόμητας τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καὶ ὁ ἱκανάτος εἰς τοὺς κόμητας αὐτοῦ ἐχέτω τὰ αὐτὰ
 ἐργαλεῖα. |

R. 495 " Ὅσα δεῖ γίνεσθαι, ὅταν ἀπὸ ἐξπεδίτου ἢ μακρᾶς ὁδοιπορίας
 666 ἐπανέρχεται ὁ βασιλεὺς

Ἐπανερχομένου τοῦ βασιλέως, τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα γίνεται κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ὅσα
 ἐν τῷ ἀπιέναι αὐτὸν εἰρήκαμεν. γινομένου αὐτοῦ περὶ Κωνσταντινούπολιν, οἱ
 ἀπομειναντες ἄρχοντες ἀπαντοῦσιν ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τριβοῦνος
 670 πραισεντάλιος ὁ ἀπομεινας εἰς παραφυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντᾷ μετὰ
 μαντίου ἤτοι σαγίου ρουσέου εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸ κατάβα τοῦ Ῥηγίου, καὶ
 καθήμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν ἵππον δέχεται αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ προσκυνεῖ μετὰ τοῦ
 σαγίου μόνον καὶ ὀψικεύει αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ κόμητες κονισιοτοριανοὶ καὶ τριβοῦνοι
 πάντες λευχειμονοῦντες κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα προσκυνοῦσιν καὶ ὀψικεύουσιν.
 675 παρίσταται δὲ αὐτοῖς σιλεντιάριος καὶ λέγει· «φύλαρχος παρουσίας, κόμητες
 συστατήριοι, φύλαρχοι πραιτωρίου». ὁ δὲ ἑπαρχος τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ ὑπατικοὶ
 καὶ ἐὰν εὐρεθῇ καὶ πατρίκιος ἐμπρὸς τοῦ παλατίου ἴστανται, καὶ ὡς κατέλθῃ
 τοῦ ἵππου, προσκυνοῦσιν, καὶ δέχεται αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ στόματος· ἐὰν
 δὲ βούλονται τινες τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἀπελθεῖν κάκεῖ δέξασθαι

R. 496 τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τοῦτο ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ συγκλητικοί, ἐὰν πεζῆ ἔρχεται ὁ
 681 βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ Ἐβδομον, ἀπαντοῦσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Νηπίων ἐμπρὸς τοῦ
 μαρτυρίου, καὶ κατέρχεται ὁ δεσπότης καὶ δέχεται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ στόματος καὶ

L 17' εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον καὶ εὐχεται. καὶ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης || ἀπέρχεται εἰς
 τὸ Ἐβδομον, οἱ δὲ συγκλητικοὶ ὅπου βούλονται.

668 γινωμένου *L* || 670 πραισεντάλιος] *schol. in marg. L*: παρουσιαστής ||
 672 προσκυνη *L* || 673 κονισιωτοριανοὶ *L* || 674 λευχειμονοῦντες *L R*. || 677
 παλατίου *L* || 678 δέχετε *L*

have one hide skin and two skins of soft hide to facilitate their crossing deep and difficult rivers. They should also have their set of tools complete, that is: one axe, one adze, and one chisel with its wooden mallet. The same order should be issued also by the *domestikos* of the *Scholai* to the *topotērētēs* of the *Scholai*, so that the *komites* in each *scholē* observe the same order; and likewise the *exkoubitos* should make the same order to his *skribōnes*, the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* to the *komites* of the *Arithmos*, and the *Hikanatos* to his *komites*, so that they might have the same tools.

What should be observed when the emperor returns
from an expedition or a long journey

When the emperor returns, the same procedures are followed while he is on the road, as we have described for his departure. When he reaches the district of Constantinople, the officials who remained in the City meet (him) at Rhegion; but the praesental tribune who remained to guard the City meets him, in a tunic of red, directly after the disembarcation at Rhegion; and the emperor, mounted on his horse, receives him. He pays homage, wearing simply his tunic, and then accompanies him. The *komites* of the consistory and the tribunes, all dressed in white, pay homage to him in the same fashion, and then accompany him. A *silentarios* stands by, and announces: "the praesental Phylarch, the *komites* of the consistory, the Phylarchs of the praetorium". The Eparch of the City and the consuls and, if he can be found, a *patrikios*, stand before the palace and pay homage as he dismounts from his horse. The emperor receives them verbally. If some of the officials wish, they may go off to Herakleia to receive the emperor there, for this is also permitted them. If the emperor comes on foot to the Hebdomon, the senators meet him in the Church of the Innocents in front of the martyrrium, where the emperor goes down and greets them verbally, and then enters the martyrrium and prays. The emperor then departs for the Hebdomon, and the senators to wherever they wish.

685 Εἰ δὲ πλόω ἔρχεται ὁ δεσπότης, ἴστανται πρὸς τῶ αἰγιαλῶ καὶ ἐξιόντα αὐτὸν τοῦ δρόμωνος προσκυνοῦσιν ὡς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ὁ ἀπομονεύς, καὶ δέχεται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ στόματος, καὶ ὀψικεύουσιν μέχρι τῆς πόρτης καὶ ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ἀφίστανται.

Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα, ἐὰν ἀπὸ ἐξπεδίτου ἔρχεται ἡ μακρᾶς ὁδοιπορίας· ἐπεὶ ἐὰν
690 ἀπέλθῃ ἕως Σηλυμβρίας ἢ Ἑρακλείας ἢ ὀλίγῳ πορρωτέρῳ καὶ ὀλίγας
ἡμέρας ποιήσῃ καὶ εὐθὺς ὑποστρέψῃ, ὅπου συνετάξαντο οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἐκεῖ καὶ
δέχονται αὐτόν. εἰ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ἑβδόμου ἐξῆλθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ
Ἑβδομον ὑποστρέφει, ἐκεῖ ἀπαντοῦσιν· εἰ δὲ καὶ βούλεται ὀρθοποδῆσαι εἰς
τὴν πόλιν, ἐκεῖ πάλιν ἀπαντοῦσιν αὐτῶ, οἱ δὲ συγκλητικοὶ προλαμβάνουσι. καὶ
695 ἐὰν πεζῇ εἰσέρχεται ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀπαντοῦσιν αὐτῶ ἐν τῷ Φόρῳ Θεοδοσίου τῶ
R. 497 καλουμένῳ Ταύρῳ καὶ προσφέρουσιν αὐτῶ | στεφάνους, ἓνα μὲν χρυσοῦν,
ἄλλους δὲ ἀπὸ δαφνῶν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀντιδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς νομίσματα ὑπὲρ τοῦ
χρυσοῦ στεφάνου, ὥστε μὴ ζημίαν αὐτοὺς ὑπομεῖναι.

Ἐὰν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀσίας ἢ Βιθυνίας ἢ Περσικοῦ πολέμου ἐπανέρχεται ὁ
700 βασιλεὺς, ὁ ἑπαρχὸς τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντᾷ, ἔνθα ἂν συνίδῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς μεσά-
λαγον ποιῆσαι, εἴτε ἐν τῷ Σατύρῳ εἴτε ἐν τῷ Πολεατικῷ ἢ ἐν Ῥουφηνιαναῖς
ἢ ἐν τῇ Ἱερείᾳ· εἰ δὲ θελήσῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τοῦ Στρατηγίου ἀνελθεῖν,
προλαμβάνουσιν οἱ συγκλητικοὶ εἰς τὸν φόρον τοῦ Στρατηγίου ἀκακεῖ τοὺς
στεφάνους προσφέρουσιν. εἰ δὲ πλόω βούλεται ὀρθοποδῆσαι εἰς τὸ παλάτιν,
705 ἴσταται ἐμπρὸς τῆς σκάλης καὶ ἔνθα δέχεται κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τὸν ἑπαρχὸν τῆς
πόλεως καὶ τὸν ἀπομονέα, καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους προσφέρουσιν αὐτῶ.

Ἐνδεκάτῃ τοίνυν τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός, ἡμέρα β', ἔτους λγ', εἰσῆλθεν
ὁ εὐσεβῆς βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν περὶ ὥραν α' διὰ τῆς
L 18' πόρτης τῶν Χαρισίου, τῶν συγκλητικῶν καὶ τοῦ || ἐπάρχου τῆς πόλεως ἐκεῖσε
710 ἀπαντησάντων δίχα στεφάνων· καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ Δεύτερον ἠῤῥατο ἐν τοῖς
Ἀποστόλοις καὶ ἤφεν κηροὺς εἰς τὸ μνημα τῆς δεσποίνης καὶ κατῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ
Καπιτώλιον. ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Μέσην, ὑπήντησαν δομέστικοι προτίκ-
R. 498 τωρες, αἱ ἐπτὰ σχολαὶ καὶ μετ' | αὐτοὺς τριβοῦνοι καὶ κόμητες, πάντες μετὰ
λευκῶν χλανιδίων καὶ κηρῶν δεξιά καὶ ἀριστερὰ ἰστάμενοι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς

685 πλωῶ L || 686 δρόμωνος L || 689 ἐπὶ L || 690 σασαλαμβρίας
L (see Introduction, p. 74) || 691 ποιήσει L || 697 ἀντιδίδωσιν L || 701
'Ρουφηνιαναῖς L R. || 704 πλωῶ L || 707 ἔτους λγ'] ,ελγ' conit. falso R. ||
710 δεύτεραν L || 712 Καπετώλιον L R. || 712—713 πρωτίκτωρες L R.

If the emperor arrives by ship, they stand by the shore, and when the emperor disembarks from the warship, the praesental tribune (and others) pay homage, as in Constantinople, and he receives them verbally; then they accompany him in procession as far as the gate, and there, along with the other officials, they withdraw.

But these procedures apply only if the emperor is returning from an expedition or a long journey. For if he is coming back from Selymbria or Herakleia, or a little further away, and is absent only a few days and returns straight away, then the officials meet him wherever they were first assembled. Thus, if the emperor departs from the Hebdomon, and returns there, that is where they meet him. If he wishes to go directly into the City again, they meet him there (i. e. the Hebdomon) and the senators go on in advance. If the emperor enters by land, then they meet him at the Forum of Theodosios, the Tauros, and bring crowns to him, one of gold, others of laurel. The emperor gives them coin for the golden crown, so that they incur no financial loss.

If the emperor comes back from Asia or Bithynia or a Persian war, the Eparch of the City meets him wherever he decides to complete his change of vestment, either at Satyron or Poleatikon, or in Rouphinianai or Hiereia. If the emperor wishes to enter via the Statēgion, the senators go on ahead to the forum of Stratēgios and offer the crowns there. If he wishes to go directly to the palace by boat, he stands before the quay, and receives there in the customary manner the Eparch of the City and the praesental tribune, and they offer him the crowns.

Now on the 11th of August, a Monday, in the 33rd year, the pious emperor Justinian entered Constantinople at about the first hour of the day through the gate of Charisios, where the senate and the Eparch of the City met him, without crowns. Arriving in the second district, he prayed in the Church of the Apostles, and lit candles to the memory of the empress (Theodora) and went on down to the Kapitōlion. As he entered the Mesē, there met him the *domestikoi protiktōres*, the seven *Scholai* with their *tribounoi* and *komites*, all wearing white mantles and with candles, standing to right and left; and along with them *magistrianoi*, *phabrikēsioi*, the

715 μαγιστρίανοι, φαβρικήσιοι, τάξις τῶν ἐπάρχων καὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου, ἀργυροπρᾶ-
 ται καὶ πάντες πραγματευταὶ καὶ πᾶν σύστημα, καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτω-
 λίου μέχρι τῆς Χαλκῆς τοῦ παλατίου πάντα ἐπεπλήρωτο, ὥστε μόλις προβαίν-
 ειν τὸν ἵππον τοῦ βασιλέως. ὡς δὲ εἰσεῖη τὴν Χαλκὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἔστη ὁ
 720 θριαμβευτάλιον. οὕτω γὰρ συνείδεν γενέσθαι ὁ μάγιστρος διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰσέρχεσ-
 θαι τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης. πάντες δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ πατρίκιοι
 πεζεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐδιρῆγευσαν, καὶ οἱ κουβικουλάριοι πεζεύον-
 τες ἠκολούθησαν.

Ἐκ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ φουρτῆ τοῦ μεταξὺ νίκης ἐπάνοδος Βασιλείου τοῦ
 725 φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως ἀπὸ Γεφρικῆς καὶ Γερμανικείας

Τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπανεληθόντος μετὰ νίκης ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου Γεφρικῆς καὶ
 Γερμανικείας, διεπέρασεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰέρειαν ἐν τῷ Ἐβδόμῳ, ὑπαντησάσης
 αὐτῷ ἐκεῖσε ἀπάσης ἡλικίας τῶν τῆς πόλεως μετὰ στεφάνων τῶν ἐξ ἀνθέων
 R. 499 καὶ ῥόδων κατεσκευασμένων. ὡσαύτως καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος πᾶσα ἢ ἐν τῇ | πόλει
 730 ἐκεῖσε αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο. εἰσελθὼν
 δὲ καὶ εὐξάμενος ἐν τῷ τοῦ Προδρόμου ναῷ τῷ ἐν τῷ Ἐβδόμῳ, ἄψας κηροῦς
 ἐξῆλθεν· καὶ βαλὼν σκαραμάγγιον τριβλάττιν ἅμα υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ νέῳ
 ἰππεύσαντες ἦλθον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῶν Ἀβραμιτῶν, ||
 L 18^o προηγουμένης πάσης τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἅμα καὶ
 735 φλαμούλων τινῶν λιτῶν, καὶ καταβάντες τῶν ἵππων εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς
 Θεοτόκου. εὐξάμενοι καὶ ἄψαντες κηροῦς, ἐκαθέσθησαν μικρόν.

Ὁ δὲ ἐπαρχος τῆς πόλεως προητοιμάσατο καταστέψας τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ
 τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης μέχρι τῆς Χαλκῆς ἀπὸ δάφνης καὶ δενδρολιβάνου καὶ
 μερσίνης καὶ ῥόδων καὶ λοιπῶν ἀνθέων, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἀπὸ σκαραμαγγίων
 740 διαφόρων καὶ σενδῆς καὶ πολυκανδήλων· ὡσαύτως καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα φιλοκαλη-
 θεῖσα κατέστρωτο ἄνθεσιν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ λιβαδίῳ τῷ ἔξω τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης ἐπήγησαν τένται, καὶ
 διεπέρασαν ἀπὸ Ἰερείας ἐκεῖσε τοὺς εὐγενεῖς καὶ ἐμφανεῖς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων

719 ἀδμισσιωνάλιος | πρωτίκτωρα L R. || 720 συνίδεν L || 727 Γερμανικείας
 L | ἐπὶ τὰ Ἰέρια L R. (cum annotatione in marg. L: ἰερίας) || 729 ὡσαύτως L ||
 733 ἀβραμητῶν L || 739 μερσίνης L R. || 740 schol. in marg. L: ἰστέον, ὅτι

body of eparchs and the Eparch (of the City), silversmiths, and all the merchants and every guild, so that from the Kapitōlion to the Chalkē of the palace the Mesē was quite simply entirely filled, and the emperor's horse could only just pass through. As the emperor enters the Chalkē, the *admissionarios* stands there with a *protiktōr* and the *triumphator*, and calls out the triumphal salute; and the *magistros* ordered this to take place (at this point), since the emperor did not enter via the Golden Gate. All the officials and senators processed on foot from the Holy Apostles, and the *koubikoularioi* followed, also on foot.

The victorious return of the Christ-loving emperor Basil from campaign in the regions of Tephrikē and Germanikeia

When the emperor returned victorious from the war against Tephrikē and Germanikeia, he passed via Hiereia to the Hebdomon, where citizens of every age met him, with crowns prepared from flowers and roses. Likewise the whole senate then in the City received him there also, and the emperor greeted them verbally. And when he had entered and prayed in the Church of the Baptist in the Hebdomon, and lit candles, he went out; and donning a triple-bordered *skaramaggion*, and riding together with his son Constantine, they came to the Church of the All-Holy Virgin of the Abramites, with the whole senate going ahead with the people of the City, and with processional banners. Dismounting from their horses, they entered the Church of the Virgin; and having prayed and lit candles, they sat for a short time.

In the meantime, the Eparch of the City had prepared the City in advance, garlanding the route from the Golden Gate as far as the Chalkē with laurel and rosemary and myrtle and roses and other flowers, also with a variety of *skaramaggia* and silk hangings and candelabra; he similarly strewed the ground, which was completely covered in flowers (*scholion*: note, that the City was decked out like a bridal canopy).

On the meadow outside the Golden Gate, tents were set up, and they brought over the noble and important Hagarene prisoners

Ἀγαρηνῶν καὶ τὰ ἐξαιρέτα τῶν λαφύρων τοῦ πολέμου, φλαμούλων τε καὶ
R. 500 ἀρμάτων, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τέντεσιν ἔνδον ἀποτεθέντα διηρέθησαν, | καὶ διήλθον ἐν τῇ
 746 Μέσῃ θριαμβευόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης ἕως τῆς Χαλκῆς τοῦ παλατίου,
 ἀνοίγεισης τότε τῆς μέσης καὶ μεγάλης Χρυσῆς Πόρτης.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ τὰ λάφυρα διελθεῖν ἀναστάντες οἱ δεσπότες καὶ ἐκβαλόντες
 τὰ σκαραμάγγια, ἐφόρεσαν ὁ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ μέγας βασιλεὺς ἱμάτιον
 750 ἐπιλώρικον χρυσοῦφαντον διόλου καγκελλωτὸν διὰ μαργαριτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς
 ὄρναις ἡμφιεσμένον διὰ μαργαριτῶν τελείων, ζωσάμενος καὶ σπαθὴν ζωστήκιν,
 φορέσας καὶ διάδημα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καισαρίκιν· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ
 Κωνσταντῖνος ἐφόρεσε κλιβάνιον χρυσοῦν καὶ σπαθὴν ζωστήκιν, ποδόψελλά τε
 χρυσᾶ καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔλαβεν λόγχην χρυσῆν διὰ μαργαριτῶν ἡμφιεσμένην.
 755 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἐφόρεσεν φακιόλιν δίκην προπολώματος, λευκὸν
 χρυσοῦφαντον, ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου ὁμοίωμα στεφάνου χρυσοῦφάντου.
 ἐπέβησαν δὲ ἀμφοτέρω ἵππεύσαντες ἐν ἵπποις λευκοῖς ἐστρωμένοις χιῶμασιν
 διαλίθοις. ἐν ᾧ ἔστησαν ἔφιπποι δεξάμενοι τοὺς δημάρχους καὶ τὰ δύο μέρη,
L 19' φορούντων τῶν δημοτῶν καμίσια καὶ || στεφάνια σημεντέϊνα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς
 760 αὐτῶν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τραχήλοις αὐτῶν ἕτερα στεφάνια ἀπὸ ρόδων καὶ ἀνθέων
R. 501 κατεσκευασμένα, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶν ἐγχειρία βασταζόντων· τῶν δὲ δημάρχων
 φορούντων τὰ νικητικὰ αὐτῶν σαγία, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν καμίσια καὶ
 χλανίδια. ἐν οἷς ἐξεφωνήθη ἐν πρώτοις οὕτως· «δόξα Θεῷ τῷ ἀποδόντι ἡμῖν
 μετὰ νίκης τοὺς ἰδίους δεσπότες· δόξα Θεῷ τῷ μεγαλύναντι ὑμᾶς, αὐτοκράτο-
 765 ρες Ῥωμαίων· δόξα σοί, παναγία τριάς, ὅτι εἶδομεν νικήσαντας τοὺς ἰδίους
 δεσπότες· καλῶς ἤλθετε νικήσαντες, ἀνδριώτατοι δεσπότες». καὶ λοιπὰ
 ἐπευφημίσθησαν νικητικὰ, καὶ ἀπελατικοὶ στρατηγικοὶ ἐλέχθησαν, ἔμπροσ-
 θεν περιπατούντων τῶν δύο μερῶν.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀβραμιτῶν ἐλθόντες ἐν τῇ Χρυσῇ Πόρτῃ, ὡς εἶπομεν
 770 ἀνοίγεισης αὐτοῖς, ἔστησαν πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτῆς εὐφημισθέντες ὁμοίως.
 δεξάμενοι ἐκεῖσε τὸν ἑπαρχον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸν ἀπομονέα, οἵτινες πεσόντες
 προσεκύνησαν καὶ προσήνεγκαν τῷ αὐτοκράτορι στέφανον χρυσοῦν κατὰ τὸν
 παλαιὸν τύπον καὶ ἐτέρους ἀπὸ δαφνῶν ὡς τῆς νίκης σύμβολα· ἔλαβον δὲ οἱ
 αὐτοὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως νομίσματα χάραγμα τὴν τιμὴν καὶ πλειῶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ

744 ἀγαρινῶν L || 747 ἀνυγῆσης L || 748 ἐκβαλωτες L || 749 αὐτὸ
 κράτωρ L || 750 καγκελλωτον L | μαργαριτων L | schol. in marg. L: ιστέον,
 ἔτι ὁ χιτῶν οὗτος λέγεται ὁ ροδόβοτρυς || 751 τελίων L | σπαθὴν ζωστήκην L ||
 753 σπαθὴν ζωστήκην L | ποδόψελα L || 754 χρυσᾶν L (see Introduction, p. 74) ||

together with the best of the booty of war, banners, and weapons. When it had been deposited in the tents, this was divided up and paraded triumphally along the Mesē from the Golden Gate to the Chalkē of the palace, for the central, great Golden Gate was then opened.

After the booty had been paraded, the emperors rose and, changing out of their *skaramaggia*, the autocrat and great emperor donned a gold-embroidered breastplate-tunic covered in pearls set in a criss-cross pattern, and with perfect pearls along the hems; girding himself also with a belted sword, bearing upon his head a Caesar's diadem (*scholion*: this garment is called "rose-cluster"). His son Constantine wore a gold *klibanion* and a belted sword, golden greaves, and in his hand a gilded spear decorated with pearls. On his head he wore a low turban with a circlet, of white embroidered with gold, having on the forehead a likeness of a gold-embroidered crown. Both rode mounted on white horses equipped with gem-encrusted caparisons. While mounted, they received the demarchs and the two factions, wearing deme tunics and segmented diadems on their heads, with other garlands made from roses and flowers around their necks, carrying kerchiefs in their hands. The demarchs wore their triumphal mantles, and their officials tunics and ordinary mantles. The acclamations were to begin with as follows: "Glory to God, who returns our own Lords to us victorious! Glory to God, who exalts you, autocrats of the Romans! Glory to you, All-Holy Trinity, that we see our own Lords victorious! Welcome as conquerors, most courageous Lords!" Then other acclamations in praise of victory were made, and processional military hymns were sung, as the two factions processed before (the emperor).

When they had come from the Church of the Abramites to the Golden Gate, as we said, which was open to them, they stood before the entry to it, and were similarly acclaimed. They received then the Eparch of the City and the emperor's representative who, falling to the ground, paid homage, and presented to the emperor a golden crown, after the old custom, along with other crowns of laurel, as symbols of victory. And they then received from the emperor coin to the value and above of the golden crown. When the demes had

756 ὁμοίωμα L || 757 ἐστρωμμένοις L R. || 759 δηματῶν L R. | καμήσια
L || 765 ἴδομεν L || 769 ἀβραμητῶν L || 770 ἀνοιγῆσης L || 771
πεσώτες L || 774 πλεῖο L

775 στεφάνου. τῶν δὲ μερῶν πληρωσάντων, εἰσῆλθον τὴν Χρυσῆν μεγάλην
 Πόρταν διρηγευόμενοι καὶ ἦλθον ἐν τῷ Σίγματι καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐν
 R. 502 τῷ Ἐξακιονίῳ καὶ Ξηρολόφῳ, αὐτίκα τὸν Βοῦν καὶ | τὸ Καπιτώλιον, Φιλα-
 δελφίῳ τε καὶ Ταύρω, Ἄρτοπουλίῳ τε καὶ τῷ Φόρῳ.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Φόρου ἐλθόντες κατέβησαν τῶν ἵππων καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν
 780 ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, προσαπαντήσαντος αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε τοῦ πατριάρ-
 χου μετὰ λιτῆς τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας. ἐν ᾧ λαβόντες κηροὺς παρὰ τοῦ
 πραιποσίτου καὶ εὐξάμενοι, ἐξελθόντες καὶ ἐκβαλόντες τὰ στρατηγικά, ἐφό-
 ρεσαν διβιτήσια τριβλάττια καὶ χλαμύδας χρυσοῦφάντους καὶ καμπάγια καὶ
 L 19^r στεφθέντες διῆλθον || τὴν Μέσσην τοῦ Φόρου, ἰσταμένων καὶ προπορευομένων
 785 ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν τῶν σκευῶν, λαβούρων, σίγγων καὶ βάνδων καὶ τῶν μεγά-
 λων σκήπτρων καὶ τῶν χρυσῶν φλαμούλων καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ τοῦ μεγάλου
 τε καὶ διαλίθου, καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Μέσσην ἕως τοῦ Μιλίου εἰσῆλθον διὰ τοῦ
 ἐμβόλου τοῦ Μιλίου εἰς τὸ Ὁρολόγιον καὶ ἀπέθεντο τὰ στέμματα ἐν τῷ ἔνδον
 τῆς Ὁραίας Πύλης μητατωρίῳ καὶ εἰσῆλθον ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι εὐξάμενοι μετὰ
 790 κηρῶν εἰς τὴν μέσσην ἀγίαν πύλην, εἰσοδεύσαντες μετὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου· καὶ
 τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας καὶ ἡ εἴσοδος αὐτῶν ἡ πρὸς τὸ παλάτιν
 ἐτελέσθησαν καθ' ὃν τρόπον ἐν ταῖς ἐμπράτοις προελεύσεσιν· προετέθη δὲ καὶ
 κλητόριον μέγιστον ἐν τῷ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τρικλίνῳ, καὶ εὐφρανθέντες δεδώ-
 κασιν πᾶσιν τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου βεστομιλιαρήσια.

R. 503 Ἰστέ|ον δέ, ὅτι τὴν μὲν κατάστασιν τῆς πόλεως καὶ φιλοκαλίαν ἡτοιμα-
 796 σατο ὁ ἔπαρχος, τὴν δὲ τῆς προελεύσεως τάξιν καὶ ἀπαντὴν τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ
 τῶν μερῶν τὰς ἐπινικίους φωνὰς καὶ προόδους καὶ τῶν δοχῶν τὰς τοποθεσίας
 ὁ πραιπόσιτος διορίσατο, ὑπουργούντων αὐτῷ τοῦ τε τῆς καταστάσεως καὶ
 τῶν σιλεντιαρίων καὶ τοῦ κουβουκλίου παντός, ὁ τοίνυν ἐναπομείνας μετὰ τοῦ
 800 μαγίστρου καὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου, ὁ καὶ διέπων τὴν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ βασιλέως
 δουλείας ἀρχὴν Βαάνης ἦν, ὁ πατρίκιος πραιπόσιτος καὶ σακελλάριος, καθὼς
 τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκράτει τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἔθος, ἐξερχομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ
 φουσάτου τὸν πραιπόσιτον παρεᾶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἐπικράτειαν καὶ τῷ

776 σήγματι L || 777 ἔξακιονίῳ L || 778 schol. in marg. L: ἰστέον, ὅτι
 ἐν τοῖς ἐξονομασθεῖσι τόποις δοχαὶ τῶν μερῶν καὶ εὐφημίαι γίνονται || 781 λαβώτες L
 || 783 διβιτήσια L R. | τριβλάττια L R. | χλαμμυδας L || 784 τοῦ bis serips.
 L || 789 μιτατωρίῳ L || 791 εἰ ἡσοδος L | αὐτῶν om. R. || 793 κλητόριον
 L R. || 798 διορήσατο L

completed their acclamations, the emperors went in procession through the great Golden Gate and came to the Sigma; and turning left, to the Exakionion and the Xērolophos; and directly after to the Ox and the Kapitōlion, the Philadelphion, the Forum of the Bull, the Artopoulion, and the Forum (*scholion*: in the places listed take place receptions by the demes, and acclamations).

When they reached the Forum, they dismounted from their horses, and went into the Church of the All-Holy Mother of God, where they met the Patriarch with a liturgical procession of the Great Church. And so, taking candles from the *praipositos*, and praying, they came out once more and, casting off their military garb, put on triple-bordered ceremonial tunics (*divētēsia*), a gold-embroidered mantle, and boots; and wearing their crowns, they crossed the Forum section of the Mesē, with the insignia, *labara*, *signa* and *banda*, and the great *skēptra* and the gold banners, and the blessed, great and bejewelled cross, all raised up before them and preceding them. Passing along the Mesē as far as the Milion, they went through the entrance to the Milion, as far as the Hōrologion, where they put off their crowns in the changing-hall of the Beautiful Gate (of the Great Church), and then entered the narthex, praying and holding candles, and thence through the central holy door, entering with the Patriarch. The rest of the divine liturgy, and the entry into the palace, were completed in the manner customary in formal processions. A great feast was then held, in the Triklinion of Justinian; and having refreshed themselves, they distributed *miliarēsia* from the *vestiarion* to all the senators.

Note, that the preparation and adornment of the City was prepared by the Eparch, while the order of the procession, the meeting with the senate, the victory acclamations of the demes and their parade, and the position of the receptions, was determined by the *praipositos*, with the master of ceremonies, the *silentiarioi* and all the *koubouklion* assisting him. The official who remained with the *magistros* and the Eparch, and who directed the affairs of the emperor as his representative, was Baanēs, the *patrikios praipositos* and *sakellarios*, just as the old custom followed by the emperors: when the emperor went off on campaign, the *praipositos* was present to take charge of the emperor's duties, while the *magistros* and the

μαγίστρῳ καὶ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ τὴν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τὴν διοίκησιν.
 805 ἐπανιώντι τοίνυν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ φοσσάτου ἀντιλήψεις πλεῖσται καὶ
 δωρεῶν παροχαὶ πᾶσιν κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τοῖς τε μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει
 ἐδίδοντο. ||

L 20^r Ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ φοσσάτου ἐπάνοδος Θεοφίλου βασιλέως, ὅτε
 ἐνίκησεν κατὰ κράτος τοὺς ἀπὸ Κιλικίας στρατοπεδεύσαντας
 810 κατ' αὐτοῦ Ταρσίτας, Μομφουεστίτας, Ἀδανίτας, Εἰρηνοπο-
 λίτας, Ἀναζαρβήτας καὶ λοιπούς, χιλιάδας κ'

R. 504 Ἐπανελθόντος τοίνυν Θεοφίλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τοῦ | πολέμου τῶν ἀπὸ
 Κιλικίας κατ' αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευσάντων Ἀγαρηῶν, ἐγένετο ἡ πρὸς τὴν
 βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν εἴσοδος αὐτοῦ τοιαύτη· φθάσαντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰερείᾳ,
 815 ἐξῆλθεν ἡ αὐγούστα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὁ διέπων σὺν τῷ μαγίστρῳ καὶ τῷ
 ἐπάρχῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ πόλει σύγκλητος ἅπασα, παρεάσαντες τοὺς
 τῶν ταγματῶν ἐξάρχους εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως. καὶ ἡ μὲν σύγκλητος
 ὑπήντησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς ἀπὸ διαστήματος μικροῦ πρὸ τοῦ φθάσαι εἰς τὸ
 παλάτιν καὶ πεσόντες προσεκύνησαν· ἡ δὲ αὐγούστα ἔνδον τοῦ καγκέλλου τοῦ
 820 χαμαιτρικλίνου τοῦτον ὑπήντησεν ἀποβάντι τοῦ ἵππου καὶ προσκυνήσασα
 τοῦτον ἠσπάσατο· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διορίσατο ὡς ἐπὶ προκένσου τὴν σύγκλητον
 διάγειν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ Ἰερείᾳ μέχρις ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ, ὅπως καὶ οἱ δέσμιμοι τῶν
 αἰχμαλώτων Ἀγαρηῶν φθάσωσιν. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν
 συγκλητικῶν ἐξελθούσας τῆς πόλεως διάγειν σὺν τῇ αὐγούστῃ ἐκεῖσε.

825 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν ἀποπλεύσας τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον
 Μάμαντα καὶ ἐποίησεν ἅμα τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἡμέρας γ'. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐκεῖσε
 διαπλεύσας ἔφθασεν ἐν Βλαχέρναις καὶ ἐξελθὼν τοῦ δρόμωνος ἐπιβάς ἵππῳ διὰ
 τοῦ ἔξω τείχους ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Χρυσὴν μεγάλην Πόρταν καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν

R. 505 προετοιμασθεῖσαν κόρτην ἐν τῷ λιβαδίῳ τοῦ κομβινιστασίου. Ἐφθα|σαν δὲ
 830 τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ οἱ τοὺς δεσμίους φέροντες ἐν Χρυσοπόλει καὶ βαλόντες αὐτοὺς
 L 20^v εἰς πλοῖα διεπέρασαν αὐτούς, ἔνθα || καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρῆν· ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως
 ἑπαρχὸς ἦν προετοιμάσας καὶ καταστέψας τὴν πόλιν δίκην νυμφικῶν παστά-

805 ἐπανιώντι L || 809 στρατοπαιδεύσαντας L || 813 στρατοπαιδευσάντων
 L || 820 χαμετρικλίνου L || 821 ἠσπάσατο L | διορήσατο L || 827 δρόμωνος
 L || 828 ἀνῆλθεν ... εἰς (ἦλθεν) om. R. | χρυσᾶν L (see Introduction, p. 74) ||
 829 κομβινιστασίου L || 831 πλοῖα L

Eparch had charge of state affairs and the day-to-day administration respectively. And upon the emperor's return from an expedition, a great number of dignities and presents was awarded to all, as far as was possible, who had accompanied him and who had remained in the City.

The return of the emperor Theophilos from campaign, when he was completely victorious over those who made war against him from Tarsos, and Mopsouestia and Adana and Eirēnoupolis and Anazarba and others, numbering 20.000

When the emperor Theophilos returned from the war against the Cilician Saracens who campaigned against him, his entry into the imperial City was as follows: when he had arrived at Hiereia, the Augousta along with the emperor's representative, the *magistros*, the Eparch of the City, and all the senate in the City, came out, leaving the officers of the *tagmata* to guard the City. The senate met the emperor at a short distance from his reaching the palace and, falling to the ground, they paid him homage. The Augousta met him within the railing of the low Triklinion when he had dismounted from his horse and, paying homage, she kissed him. The emperor ordered that the senate should accompany him in conformity with the order of a formal procession to the Hiereia, and remain seven days, until the fettered Hagarene prisoners-of-war should arrive. He ordered also that the wives of the senators, having left the City, should proceed thither with the Augousta.

After the seventh day he sailed thence and came to St. Mamas, where he spent three days, with the senate; and from there he sailed to Blachernai, and disembarking from the warship, he mounted his horse and came up along the outer wall as far as the great Golden Gate, and entered the pavilion prepared in advance on the meadow where the hippodrome horses were exercised and teamed up. On the same day, those bringing the prisoners arrived at Chrysopolis; and embarking them in ships, brought them across to where the emperor was waiting. The Eparch of the City had prepared the City in advance, adorning it like a bridal canopy with various *skaramaggia* and hangings, silver candelabra, and variegated flowers and roses,

δων ἀπό σκαραμαγγίων διαφόρων καὶ σενδές καὶ ἀργύρου πολυφώτων τε καὶ
 ἀνθέων καὶ ῥόδων ποικίλων ἀπὸ τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης μέχρι τῆς Χαλκῆς· καὶ
 835 διελόντες οἱ τῶν τάξεων ἰδίᾳ καὶ χωρὶς κατὰ τάξιν τοὺς δεσμίους, τὰ λάφυρα,
 τὰ ἄρματα, ἐθριάμβευσαν μέσον τῆς πόλεως.

Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀναστάς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφόρεσεν χιτῶνα χρυσοῦφαντον
 ἐπιλώρικον τὸν ῥοδόβοτρον, ζωσάμενος καὶ σπαθίν, βαλὼν καὶ τιάραν ἐπὶ τῆς
 κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ. ἐπέβη δὲ ἵππῳ λευκῷ ἐστρωμένῳ χιῶματι διαλίθῳ, λαβὼν
 840 ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ σκῆπτρον. ὁ δὲ καῖσαρ ἐφόρεσεν χρυσοῦν κλιβάνιον σὺν
 μανικελλίῳ καὶ ποδοπέλλῳ καὶ αὐτῶν χρυσῶν, βαλὼν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς
 αὐτοῦ καὶ κασιδά σὺν περικεφαλαίᾳ χρυσῆ, ζωσάμενος καὶ σπαθίν, ἐπιβάς καὶ
 αὐτὸς ἵππῳ ὁμοίως λευκῷ σὺν χιῶματι διαλίθου. ἔλαβεν δὲ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ
 λόγχην χρυσῆν· μικρὸν δὲ τῆς πόρτης πεφθακῶς κατέβη τοῦ ἵππου ὁ βασιλεὺς
 845 καὶ ἔπεσεν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς προσκυνήσας τρίτον. εἶθ' οὕτως ἀναστάς ἐπέβη τῷ
 R. 506 ἵππῳ. καὶ εἰσερχομένῳ αὐτῷ τὴν | μεγάλην Χρυσῆν Πόρταν, προσήνεγκαν
 αὐτῷ ὁ μάγιστρος καὶ ὁ διέπων καὶ ὁ ἔπαρχος τῆς πόλεως χρυσοῦν στέφανον
 κατεσκευασμένον ἐκ λίθων τιμίῳν καὶ μαργάρων πολυτίμων, ὃν καὶ λαβόμενος
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφόρεσεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ βραχίονος· καὶ εὐθὺς τὰ μέρη αὐτὸν
 850 ὑπήντησαν ἐμπράτως, ὡς ἐπὶ ἑορτασίμου προκένσου, εὐφημοῦντες ἐπινίκια.
 καὶ διοδεύσας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε διὰ τοῦ Σίγματος καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον
 Μώκιον μέχρι τοῦ Μιλίου. ἐν ᾧ Μιλίῳ ἀπέβησαν τῶν ἵππων οἱ τῆς συγκλήτου
 καὶ πεζεύοντες διρήγευσαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως ἕως τοῦ φρέατος τῆς
 Ἁγίας Σοφίας. πλὴν οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω συνεισελθόντες τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν τῇ πόλει,
 L 21' μετὰ χρυσῶν κλιβανίων καὶ σπαθίων καὶ κονταρίων εἰσῆλθον || ἔφιπποι, τάξις
 856 ἐκάστη ἰδίᾳ καὶ χωρὶς· ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως οἱ πραιπόσιτοι καὶ τὸ
 κουβούκλιον, χρυσοκλίβανοι· ὅπιθεν δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ ὄργυιῶν πέντε πρωτοσπαθάριοι
 εὐνοῦχοι μετὰ χρυσῶν κλιβανίων καὶ σπαθοβακλίων. ἐν δὲ τῇ Χαλκῇ τοῦ
 παλατίου ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν τῆς πύλης πούλιτον, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐν μέρος τὸ χρυσοῦν
 860 ὄργανον τὸ λεγόμενον πρωτόθαυμα, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος σένζον χρυσοῦν καὶ
 διάλιθον, μέσον δὲ τούτων ὁ χρυσοῦς σταυρὸς καὶ διάλιθος ὁ μέγας.

833 πολυφώτων L R. || 838 σπαθίν L | τιάραν: schol. in marg. L: τούφαν
 || 839 ἐστρωμένῳ L R. || 841 καὶ¹] κε L || 842 σπαθίν L || 844 χρυσῶν
 L (see Introduction, p. 74) | πεφθακῶς L || 848 κατεσκευασμένων L || 850
 ὑπίντησαν L | ἑορτασίμου L || 851 σήματος L || 853 παιζεύοντες L ||
 857 κουβούκλιον L

from the Golden Gate to the Chalkē. The soldiers of the different units took their own prisoners separately and in order, along with the booty and weapons, and proceeded triumphally through the City.

When the emperor rose to leave the pavilion, he wore a gold-embroidered breastplate-style tunic, known as “rose-cluster”, with a belted sword, and a tiara placed upon his head. He was mounted upon a white horse bearing a bejewelled caparison; and in his right hand he took a sceptre. The Kaisar wore a gold *klibanion* with vambraces and greaves, also of gold; and on his head a helmet with a gold circlet. He wore a belted sword, and was mounted likewise on a white horse with bejewelled caparison. He had in addition a gilded lance in his hand. When he had come to within a short distance of the Gate, the emperor dismounted from his horse and, falling down, bowed three times towards the East. Then, standing up, he mounted his horse again. On his entering the great Golden Gate, the *magistros* and the emperor’s representative and the Eparch of the City brought a golden crown to him, made of precious stones and valuable pearls, which the emperor took and wore on his right arm. Immediately following this the demes met him, in formal order as in a festive procession, proclaiming hymns of victory. And so, passing by those who stood there, he arrived by way of the Sigma and the road to St. Mōkios at the Milion, where the senate dismounted from their horses, and processed on foot before the emperor as far as the Holy Well of the Church of the Holy Wisdom; although those who entered the City from outside, with the emperor, came in on horses, wearing gilded *klibania* and carrying swords and lances, each unit according to its proper position: in front of the emperor the *praipositoi* and the *kouboukleion*, with gold *klibania*; behind, at a distance of 10 metres, the eunuch *prōtopatharioi*, with golden *klibania* and staves. At the Chalkē of the palace, in front of the gate, a rostrum was set up; on the one side stood the golden organ, known as the “foremost wonder”; and on the other, a golden and bejewelled throne; and between them, the great gilded and bejewelled cross.

R. 507 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀποβάς τοῦ ἵππου εἰσῆλθεν διὰ τοῦ | φρέατος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν
 Σοφίαν καὶ εὐξάμενος ἐξῆλθεν πάλιν διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης καὶ πεζεύων ἦλθεν
 ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ καὶ ἀνελθὼν κατεσφραγίσαστο ἐπὶ τοῦ σένζου, καὶ ἔκραξαν τὰ
 865 μέρη «εἰς ἄγιος». καὶ καθίσας, προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς πόλεως
 χρυσοῦς βραχιόλους, καὶ λαβὼν τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφόρεσεν ἐπὶ τῶν βραχιό-
 των αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπεδέξατο αὐτοὺς εὐχαριστῶν, δημηγορήσας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ
 περὶ τῆς ἐπιτυχίας τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ πάντες ἐπινικίως αὐτὸν εὐφήμησαν·
 ἀναστὰς δὲ τοῦ σένζου ἐπέβη τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ διῆλθεν διὰ τε τῶν διαβατικῶν τοῦ
 870 Ἀχιλλέως καὶ τῶν πλαγίων τοῦ Ζευξίππου καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ἀσκέπαστον
 ἵππόδρομον καὶ ὑποκάτω τοῦ καθίσματος εἰσελθὼν κατέβη διὰ τῆς Δάφνης
 εἰστὸν κάτω σκεπαστὸν ἵππόδρομον καὶ καταβάς τοῦ ἵππου εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὰ
 Σκυῖλα ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, καὶ ἐγένετο αἴτησις δεξίμου. καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐτελέσθη
 τὸ δεξιμον, καὶ προετέθησαν ἀντιλήψεις πλεῖσται ἀναβιβαζόμεναι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν
 875 βασιλικῶν μανδατόρων ἀξίας μέχρι τῆς κυριωνύμου πατρικιότητος, καὶ δω-
 ρεαὶ πλεῖσται τοῖς πολιτάρχαις, καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδόθη-
 σαν, καὶ ἵππικὰ ἐτελέσθησαν, κάκει πάλιν τοὺς δεσμίους καὶ τὰ λάφυρα
 ἐθριάμβευσαν· ἐφ' ἱκανὰς δὲ ἡμέρας ἐκράτησεν ἡ δεξιῶσις τῶν δωρεῶν
 διαχειρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως διδομένων.

R. 508 Ἴστέον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου ἐξεληθόντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 881 Θεοφίλου ἐπὶ φοσσάτον, ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέφειν αὐτὸν καὶ μέλλειν τὴν πόλιν
 εἰσερχεσθαι προσέταξεν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως παῖδας ἐξελεθεῖν πάντας εἰς ἀπάντη-
 σιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἐξ ἀνθέων κατεσκευασμένων στεφάνων, εἰσελθὼν ὁμοίως
 τοῦ προτέρου σχήματος.

865 καθήσας L || 866—867 βραχιώνων L || 867 δημηγορήσας L || 868
 ἐπινικίως L || 872 ἰστὸν L || 874 πλίσται L || 878 ἐπικανασδέ L | δωραιων
 L || 881 μέλλιν L || 882 ἐξελεθην L

Dismounting from his horse, the emperor entered the Holy Wisdom via the Holy Well and, having prayed, came out again through the same door; then, walking, he entered the Chalkē and mounting the throne he made the sign of the cross; and the demes cried out: "One Holy God". When he seated himself, the people presented him with golden armbands, and when he had taken them, the emperor wore them on his arms, accepting them with gladness, thanking the populace, and making a speech himself on the successes of the war. Then everyone praised him with hymns of victory. Rising from the throne, he then mounted his horse, crossed through the porticoes of the Achillēs baths, along the wings of the Zeuxippos, and came out into the open hippodrome; going below the *kathisma*, he descended via the (palace of) Daphnē to the lower covered hippodrome where, dismounting from his horse, he went into the Skyla in the palace; here there took place a formal request for a reception. And on the following day the reception took place, and many dignities were conferred and promotions made, from the rank of imperial *mandatōr* to the lordly dignity of *patrikios*. Many presents were granted to the officials of the demes, and the population too, from the emperor. Chariot races took place, and once again the prisoners and the booty were paraded, in the hippodrome. And the issue of largesses from the hand of the emperor lasted several days.

Note this also, that when the same emperor Theophilos returned from a second campaign, he ordered on his return and as he was about to enter the City, that all the children of the City should come out to meet him, with crowns made from flowers; then he entered likewise according to the first procedure.

III. NOTES

(A) 1 ὑπόθεσις: cf. REISKE, Comm. 479: *expositio*.

(A) 1 ταξιίδιον: cf. REISKE, Comm. 479, and cf. anc. Greek παράταξις/τάξις. See also DU CANGE 1528; STEPHANUS 1813; and cf. Anon. Vári 50, 19 (DENNIS 29, 22—23) and (B) 34; DAI 30, 28: ἐν ταξιδίῳ, on campaign; also *ibid.* 40, 16; 51, 92; 52, 13.

(A) 1 ὑπόμνησις: cf. (C) 39.

(A) 2 ἀπληκτον: Lat. *applicatum*. Cf. DU CANGE 98—99; (B) 27; DAI 44, 128; 45, 86. The term had two basic meanings, that of an ordinary military camp or marching camp; and of an imperial (and permanent) field camp. By extension, it came also to mean the quarters of billeted soldiers and finally, the right to demand quarters. For the latter, see HALDON, Praetorians 315; 600. For the former, see Maurice, Strat. I, 3, 35; II 12, 3; 12, 6 etc.; Niceph., Praec. 1, 13; 12, 26; 18, 16sq.; De Vel. Bell. 218, 3; 198, 17 (DENNIS 13, 21; 8, 35; DAGRON-MIHĂESCU XIII 15; VIII 27sq.); Leo, Tact. IX 1; epilog. 59; cf. also XX 34; 122; Anon. Vári 1, 1. 4. 13 (DENNIS 1, 3. 5. 14); and for the verb ἀπληκεύειν see, for example, Leo, Tact. IX 2; Maurice, Strat. I 9, 16 etc.; Theoph. 310, 5. 7; 387, 16; 464, 1 etc. and note also ἀπληκτεύειν at Leo, Tact. XV 24; Niceph., Praec. 12, 18. In general, see KOLIAS, Περὶ ἀπλήκτου, *passim*.

(A) 3—5 τὰ Μαλάγινα . . . Δαζιμῶνα: these are the imperial marching camps. Their position: Malagina — cf. Theoph. 462, 12; 473, 25; 479, 20; see S. ŠAHIN, Studien über die Probleme der historischen Geographie des nordwestlichen Kleinasiens II. Malagina/Melagina am Sangarios. *Epigraphica Anatolica* 7 (1986) 153—166; also RAMSAY 202—206; HUXLEY, List 93, n. 19 (in the area of Osmanieli—Vezirhan); Dorylaion — cf. Theoph. 414, 20 (Artavasdos' base with the Opsikion army in 741/742); see RAMSAY 212—213; HUXLEY, List 92, n. 13 (mod. Eskişehir); Kaborkin — see HUXLEY, List 93, n. 19; RAMSAY 213—214; Kolōneia — see *TIB* II 207; PERTUSI, at De Them. 141—142; Kaisareia — see (C) 461; De Cer. 434, 7—8; *TIB* II 193—196; Dazimōn — see (C) 460; *TIB* II 79; HONIGMANN,

Ostgrenze 60, n. 7; De Them. I 2, 33 and PERTUSI, *ibid.* 64; HUXLEY, List 89; TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 301. In general, see GELZER, Themenverfassung 108—114 and map; HONIGMANN, Ostgrenze; TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 301—302; RAMSAY 202—203; HUXLEY, List 87—93 and map; *TIB* II. See above, Introduction.

(A) 6 ὁ στρατηγός: see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 341; 345; AHRWEILER, Recherches 36—45 and literature. The *stratēgoi* were the military governors of the *themata*, or provinces made up of the districts named after the late Roman field armies which came to be based in them. While theoretically supreme heads of the regions, in practice they exercised only limited authority over the civil administrative apparatus. See WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 118—143.

(A) 6—13 τῶν Θρακησίων . . . ὁ Σεβαστείας: military corps and their commanders. For the *Scholai* and their *domestikos*, see HALDON, Praetorians 228ff. and 282ff. with literature. For the *themata* in general, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 348—350 and literature; *TIB* II 70ff.; HUXLEY, List, *passim*; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 72—118 and literature. For those mentioned here: Thrakēsion — OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 348; LILIE, „Thrakien“ und „Thrakesion“; PERTUSI, De Them. 124—126; TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 253; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 76ff.; Seleukeia — a *kleisoura* from the first half of the ninth century, a *thema* from c. 927—934: OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 350; PERTUSI, De Them. 147—148; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 111; Kappadokia — OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 348; TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 254; PERTUSI, De Them. 120—122; *TIB* II 70ff.; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 111—113; Charsianon — OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 348; TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 255; PERTUSI, De Them. 123—124; *TIB* II 163ff.; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 110f.; Sebasteia — OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 349; PERTUSI, De Them. 142—143; *TIB* II 274—276; Boukellarion — OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 348; PERTUSI, De Them. 133—136; HALDON, Praetorians 222 and literature; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 99f.; Armeniakon — OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 348; TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 253; PERTUSI, De Them. 117—120; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 79ff.; Thrace — LILIE, „Thrakien“ und „Thrakesion“; PERTUSI, De Them. 156—160; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 90ff.; Opsikion — OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance

348; PERTUSI, *De Them.* 127—130; HALDON, *Praetorians* 164ff.; WINKELMANN, *Rang- und Ämterstruktur* 72ff.

(A) 9 εἰς Ταρσόν: see HALDON—KENNEDY, *Arab-Byzantine Frontier* 107—108 and literature.

(A) 13 τὰ Ἀρμενιάκα θέματα: the Armeniak themes, i. e. those of the Armeniakon, Chaldia, Kolōneia (and also Charsianon); not to be confused with the later *mikra Armeni(a)ka themata* which, settled predominantly with Armenians and Syrian Jacobites, developed along the south-eastern frontier of the empire in the tenth century. See *TIB* II 45 and n. 41. See also AHRWEILER, *Recherches* 80, 82; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 345—346; IDEM, *Organisation* 83ff.; HALDON—KENNEDY, *Arab-Byzantine Frontier* 103; and note also GELZER, *Themenverfassung* 23; DAGRON, *Phocas* 151, 240. The incorrect accentuation in L illustrates the later tenth-century copyist's confusion.

(A) 14 εἰς Τεφρικήν: on the border of the theme of Kolōneia, Tephrikē was the chief fortress or citadel of the Paulicians until its capture in 878. See *TIB* II 294—295 with literature.

(A) 14 τὸν Βαθὺν Ῥύακα: HONIGMANN, *Ostgrenze* 60, n. 7; *TIB* II 157—158 with literature. See HUXLEY, *List* 89 (map).

(B) 1—2 ταξειδεύειν: see on ταξείδιον at (A) 1 above.

(B) 3 Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας: the details which follow preclude this being the real Constantine the Great. See above, Introduction; note also HALDON, *Praetorians* 536, n. 751; CAMERON, *Circus Factions* 112, n. 3.

(B) 3 ἐβουλεύετο: cf. Leo, *Tact.* III 1ff.

(B) 8 τὰ οἰκούμενα: Roman territory; home territory. Cf. Leo, *Tact.* IX 20; REISKE, *Comm.* 481—482; note also DAGRON, *Phocas* 239.

(B) 13 κάστρα: fortress/fortified town; also used of a *polis*, cf. HALDON—KENNEDY, *Arab-Byzantine Frontier* 94—96 and n. 56; and cf. *Suidas* II 40: κατὰ Ῥωμαίους παρεμβολή ἀσφαλῆς; cf. *DAI* 7, 6; 9, 6; 11, 1—2; 26, 13; 27, 38. 50; 29, 8. 11 etc.; 44, 2; 45, 52; 49, 14 etc.; *Theoph.* 376, 17; 395, 19; and Leo, *Tact.* XV 21: Εἰ δὲ τὸ κάστρον ἢ

ἡ πόλις; and cf. *ibid.* XV 4. 46. 56: DAI Comm. 29; De Vel. Bell. 197, 9 (DENNIS 8, 5—6; DAGRON—MIHĂESCU VIII 4).

(B) 29—30 και ὅτι ἔνδοξόν ἐστι τὸ ταξειδίον και βασιλέως παρουσίας ἄξιον: cf. Leo, Tact. XV 39: Οὐ γὰρ κέρδους ἔνεκεν ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν τὴν ὑποταγὴν τῶν ἀντικαθισταμένων ἐπιζητεῖ, ἀλλὰ δόξης μὲν ἰδίας και τιμῆς σωτηρίας δὲ και εὐεργεσίας σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῆς. Cf. *ibid.* proem. 672D—673C, and note J. GROS-DIDER DE MATONS, *Trois études sur Léon VI. TM* 5 (1973) 181—242: III: Les constitutions tactiques et la *damnatio memoriae* de l'empereur Aléxandre 232 and n. 15. See, for example, Photios, Ep. 1, 856—857: οὐχ οὕτως ἡ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀνδρεία τὸν ἄρχοντα κοσμεῖ και σώζει, ὡς ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους εὐμένεια και φιλανθρωπία.

(B) 35 ἀμφιᾶσαι: ἀμφιέννυμι — equip. Cf. DAI 30, 52; Theoph. 251, 26; 500, 10; De Vel. Bell. 236, 11 (DENNIS 18, 26; DAGRON—MIHĂESCU XVIII 20); and (C) 188.

(B) 37 ἐκσπηλεύωσι: ἐκσπηλεύω — evacuate, lat. *expello*, cf. REISKE, Comm. 482; DU CANGE 408 s. v. ἐξπελλευτής; De Vel. Bell. 197, 8; and cf. *ibid.* 188, 11; 244, 7sq. (DENNIS 8, 5; 2, 9; 20, 73; DAGRON—MIHĂESCU VIII 4; II 7; XX 59): ὁπόταν δὲ τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν καλῶς ἐκσπηλεύσῃς Cf. also LAMPE 438: ἐκσπηλευτής/ἐκσπελλευτής. Clearly, the *ekspēlatores* of the *De velitatione bellica* were local officials responsible for ensuring that the civilian population with its chattels removed to a safe distance from the enemy. Note the late Roman *compulsores*, in Greek *expelleutai*, officials sent to collect arrears of taxation, see JONES, LRE 451 and n. 98; the meanings and the terms are clearly related; note also DAGRON, Phocas 228—229 and n. 33.

(B) 38 τὰ ὀχυρώματα: strongholds, including also *kastra*. Cf. Leo, Tact. XV 4. 26. 36. 45. 46. 60 etc.; Anon. Vári 37, 17 (DENNIS 21, 16); De Vel. Bell. 236, 24 (DENNIS 18, 38; DAGRON—MIHĂESCU XVIII 30); DAGRON, Phocas 219.

(B) 38—39 τρίτον . . . ἵππους: this passage emphasises the role of the *stratēgos* and the thematic administration in selecting troops and providing for weapons and remounts. See Leo, Tact. V 1. 2. 11; VI 1; VII 1. 2; IX 25; XI 7. 11; XX 63. 113; and see HALDON, Praetorians 218, n. 540; 321—323 and notes; and DAGRON, *Modèle*

islamique 233—235; HALDON, Recruitment and Conscription 51, n. 87; 57, n. 100; also DAGRON, Phocas 275ff.

(B) 39 τὰς βίγλας: guards, piquets, scouts; not to be confused with ἡ βασιλικὴ βίγλα/ὁ ἀριθμός. The term is Latin *vigilia*, cf. DU CANGE 199—200 s. v. See Leo, Tact. XI 20; Anon. Vári 11, 15sq. (DENNIS 4, 3); Niceph., Praec. 20, 5. Cf. Maurice, Strat. X 3, 47. 53 etc.; De Vel. Bell. 186, 12sq. (DENNIS 1, 2; DAGRON—MIHĂESCU I 1); and see HALDON, Praetorians 508, n. 636.

(B) 42 τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχουσιν: thematic/Constantinopolitan administrative and/or judicial officials. The term *politikos* is usually used in opposition to either *thematikos* (i. e. the City as opposed to the provinces) or to *stratiōtikos* (i. e. civil as opposed to military). See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 322—333, for the former. Here, the latter is clearly meant. The loss of the status of a soldier, with its attendant rights and privileges, was a drastic punishment. See Leg. Mil. c. 46 (ASHBURNER, JGR II 78); c. 11 (KORŽENSKY, JGR II 82); De Vel. Bell. 240, 4sq. (DENNIS 19, 51sq.; DAGRON—MIHĂESCU XIX 40sq.) and HALDON, Praetorians 304ff. This passage is very similar to one in the *Stratēgikon* of Maurice, I 6, 16—18; and cf. Leo, Tact. IV 3 for the division of the thematic administration into the civil and military spheres (*politika kai stratiōtika*).

(B) 43 καταβαγείαν: Lat. *vagari/vagus* = *fugitivus*, cf. DU CANGE, Gloss. Lat. s. v.; REISKE, Comm. 482; KOUKOULÈS, *Epist. Ep. Phil. Schol. Pan. Ath.* 5 (1954/55) 49; Suidas, s. v. βαγεῦειν/πλανητεῦειν — *vagari, errare*; Maurice, Strat. I 6, 16; Leo, Tact. VIII 4; DAI 51, 61.

(B) 44—45 ἵνα κρύπτουσιν αὐτοὺς δεσμίους: cf. Leo, Tact. VIII 4; Maurice, Strat. I 6, 16.

(B) 48 τῷ σακελλαρίῳ: comptroller-general of the fiscal bureaux; originally in charge of the *sakellion*, itself formerly a department of the *sacrum cubiculum*. See BURY, Administrative System 84—86; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 312 (wrongly deriving it from the *sacrae largitiones*); HENDY, Studies 410—414.

(B) 48 τῷ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ: chief of the imperial private wardrobe (οἰκειακὸν βασιλικὸν βεστιάριον) as opposed to the public/state depart-

ment of the same name (τὸ βασιλικὸν βεστιάριον); cf. BURY, Administrative System 95—96; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 305; GUILLAND, Institutions I 216ff.; HENDY, Studies 196, n. 224; 197—198; 275.

(B) 48 τῷ μινσουράτορι: subordinate of the *papias* or concierge of the Great Palace, responsible for the disposition of the imperial tent on campaigns or other imperial outings. From Lat. *ensor*, *ensurator*; for its late Roman origins see BOAK, The Master 80—81; and see BURY, Administrative System 129; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 306 and n. 100; see below, commentary to (B) 117. This *minsouratōr* is to be differentiated from the thematic and military officials of the same name attached to the staffs of *stratēgoi* and similar commanders: cf. Maurice, Strat. I 3, 35; Leo, Tact. IV 22; IX 7; Syll. Tact. XXXV 1, 17; Anon. Vári 2, 25. 28—29; 3, 10; 13, 24 (DENNIS 1, 45. 49. 60; 6, 8); Niceph., Praec. 18, 28; De Vel. Bell. 218, 1sq. (DENNIS 13, 21sq.; DAGRON-MIHĂESCU XIII 14sq.). See KOLIAS, Περὶ ἀπλήκτου 164.

(B) 49 τῷ δομεστικῷ τῆς ὑπουργίας: the chief subordinate official of the ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης, or head of the imperial table, both for ceremonial and provisions. See BURY, Administrative System 126; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 305—306; GUILLAND, Institutions I 239; and see on (B) 117 and (C) 137sq. below.

These four officials — the *sakellarios*, the *prōtovestiaros*, the *minsouratōr* and the *domestikos* of the household service — have the chief responsibility for preparing and catering for the imperial wardrobe, tent and household staff and its equipment for the expedition. The *sakellarios* has the leading role: he exercises a supervisory authority over all the palatine bureaux, as well as liaising with the thematic *prōtonotarioi* for the provisioning of the expeditionary force as it passes through the provinces. See on (C) 349—350 below.

(B) 50 τὰ φορτώματα: ὁ φόρτος/τὸ φόρτιον. Cf. Anon. Vári 23, 12; 26, 5. 12; 52, 24 (DENNIS 12, 7; 15, 5. 11; 31, 23); Theoph. 345, 10; 503, 24; DAI 20, 9; SCHILBACH, Metrologie 170. The term *phortōma* was also used as an equivalent for γομάριον: see on (C) 341 infra.

(B) 50 πόσων σαγμαρίων εἰσί: cf. σάγμα, pack-saddle or -harness; load/container. See Isid. Seville, Etym. XX 16, 5; *sagmaria* are differentiated from horses used for riding; see Leo, Tact. XI 46: ἢ διὰ

σαγμαρίων ἢ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀφορισμένων ἵππων; X 7. 12: τὰ ἀδέστρατα ἤγουν σαγμαρία; IX 36; Anon. Vári 18, 19 (DENNIS 9, 9: σαγμαρία): σακμάρια ἢ παριππαράτους; Niceph., Praec. 4, 27; 5, 17. 20; see also Leo, Tact. V 7: ὑποζύγια, καὶ ἵππους σαγμαρία; VI 29: ἵππους σαγματαρίου ἢ ὑποζύγια; and note Maurice, Strat. I 2, 73; 5, 19sq.; and cf. XII B 6, 11. Note De Vel. Bell. 226, 16 (DENNIS 16, 13; DAGRON-MIHĂESCU XVI 10): σαγμοσέλλια, saddle-bags/packs. See on (C) 65 below; and see DU CANGE 1318 s. v. σάγμα/σάγμα; Ed. Diocl. 11, 4a—6.

(B) 52 κονδριζόμενα: cf. REISKE, Comm. 483—484: derived from σκονδρίζειν/σκονδυλίζειν/ἐκσπονδυλίζειν (?); rejected by KOUKOULÈS, *EEBS* 19 (1949) 105: the word derives from anc. Greek κοντριάζω.

(B) 53 τῷ τε κόμητι τοῦ στάβλου: head of the imperial stables in Constantinople and at Malagina. See BURY, Administrative System 113—114; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 338—339; LAURENT, Corpus II 487ff.; and see below on (C) 109—110. The bureau of the *komēs* of the stables has been re-established by BURY, loc. cit.: the *chartularios* of Constantinople and that of Malagina; the *epeiktēs* (in charge of the feeding and care of the animals); the *saphramentarios* (in charge of pasturing — see on [C] 71 below); four *komites*; forty *syntrophoi* (grooms/attendants); the imperial stable storehouse supervisor or manager (*apothetēs tou kellariou tou basilikou stablou*). See also R. GUILLAND, Chartulaire et grand chartulaire. *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 9 (1971) 405—426, see 406 (=IDEM, Titres et fonctions XVIII).

(B) 53 τῷ λογοθέτῃ τῶν ἀγελῶν: a “military” function according to Klet. Phil. 107, 26 (classed among the *stratarchai*, along with the *komēs* of the stable). He was in charge of the herds of horses and mules in the *mitata* of Asia and Phrygia, and their distribution to the *aplēkton* at Malagina or to other points, for imperial expeditions and related purposes. His bureau was also closely connected with that of the *logothetēs tou dromou*, for whose department and staff he also provided animals. See BURY, Administrative System 111; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 338; LAURENT, Corpus II 289ff.; HENDY, Studies 610—611; and below, on (C) 59sq.

(B) 54—57 ἔτι δὲ καὶ . . . ὁμοίους: along with the pack-animals were taken a number of “imperial” horses from the stables at Constanti-

nople and Malagina, raised through compulsory donations/presentations to the emperor from monastic landholders and private persons. See below, on (C) 110sq.

(B) 58 ὠρίζε τὸν ἐκ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει . . . : the emperors always left a representative to administer their affairs. From the later eighth century it may often have been a *magistros* (cf. BURY, Administrative System 32—33; 46; BOAK, The Master 49—58, esp. 52—54; 118—126; HALDON, Praetorians 149—150 and cf. 444, n. 361; also VOGT, Cer. Comm. II 57; 75. Cf. Theoph. 415, 3: Θεοφάνην τὸν πατρίκιον καὶ μάγιστρον ἐκ προσώπου ὄντα . . .). During the later eighth and ninth centuries there were often two *magistroi*; while the existence of a *prōtomagistros* in the tenth century suggests the continuation of this principle, alongside the honorific or titular *magistroi*. See WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur, esp. 31.

ὀρίζω is a verb commonly used to denote imperial commands or orders (along with θεσπίζω, κελεύω etc.); see DÖLGER-KARAYANNOPOULOS, Urkundenlehre 75, and (C) 457.

(B) 59—62 ἀπαριθμῆσαι . . . πόλιν: the troops in the City “under the *tagmata*” were the *Noumera* and Walls regiments; those “under the Eparch” the *systemata* or associations of crafts, shopkeepers, the circus fanclubs etc., along with the City watch or *pedatoura/kerketon*. See HALDON, Praetorians 256—275, esp. 266—270 and notes; and for the *systemata* forming a city militia under the authority of the Eparch, *ibid.* 258—259 and notes. Here, they are clearly allotted specific districts of the City or its defences to guard, a traditional and standard procedure (see HALDON, Praetorians 260). For the Eparch’s responsibility for security and related functions, see HALDON, Praetorians n. 751, n. 752, n. 769; and in general on the Eparch, responsible for the internal administration of Constantinople, its commercial and industrial life, civil and criminal justice etc., see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 319—322 with literature; note also *infra* (C) 737 and (C) 796.

(B) 62 ἀνορθοῦν δέ . . . : this whole passage lists the various duties of the emperor’s representative during his absence. Cf. Kekaumenos 30, 27sq. (LITAVRIN 178, 12sq.); De Vel. Bell. 245, 15sq. (DENNIS 21, 5sq.; DAGRON-MIHĂESCU XXI 2sq.); *infra* (C) 798sq.; and esp. De Obsid. Toleranda c. 3—c. 37, n. 29; Leo, Tact. XV 46ff.

(B) 63 τὰ μὲν ἐκ δύσεως ἐρχόμενα μανδάτα: (diplomatic) reports from the West; but the term meant also imperial orders, regulations or rules, news or information and so forth. See De Cer. 660, 11—12 and Theoph. 447, 10; De Vel. Bell. 223, 15; 225, 9. 25 (DENNIS 14, 120; 15, 24. 38—39; DAGRON—MIHĂESCU XIV 96; XV 18. 30): news, information; and Maurice, Strat. I 6, 29; VII A 4, 7; De Cer. 557, 5; 615, 18; 620, 20: orders; and Maurice, Strat. I 6, 1f.; 7, 1f.; 7, 17 etc.: regulations. The word is the Lat. *mandatum*. See DU CANGE 861—862 s. v.; H. KRELLER, Art. Mandatum. *RE* XIV/1 (1928) 1015—1025; and see further Leo, Tact. VIII 8; Theoph. 243, 5; 249, 26; Anon. Vári 53, 15 (DENNIS 32, 14) (as “orders”).

(B) 70 ἐκ τῶν ἄκρων θεμάτων: the frontier *themata*: cf. De Vel. Bell. 186, 14; 188, 13 (DENNIS 1, 4; 2, 11; DAGRON—MIHĂESCU I 3; II 8). The comment suggests that the *akritai* or their equivalents along the frontier despatched regular reports from all fronts to the central government in Constantinople. See Kekaumenos 24—26 (LITAVRIN 166—168). The term was used generally of the frontier zones: cf. DAI 49, 13; 50, 78. 116; Anon. Vári 49, 6; and cf. *ibid.* 29, 11 (DENNIS 28, 25; 18, 25). But it could also apply simply to “edge” or “extremity”, cf. Anon. Vári 4, 5; 8, 4; 11, 1 (DENNIS 1, 78. 174; 3, 17).

(B) 71 ἔτι γε μὴν καθεαυτὸν φροντίζειν περὶ ὄπλων: just like a local general, and like the Eparch of the City, the *ek prosōpou* was himself responsible for ensuring the supply of weapons and war materials, produced both in the imperial workshops and in the provinces. See HALDON, Praetorians 318ff. and notes 967—977; and on (B) 38—39.

(B) 73 παραχῆς: a great deal of emphasis was placed upon not upsetting the populace of Constantinople; cf. REISKE, Comm. 485; and see Leo, Tact. XX, 14; 16; 19; 79 etc. on keeping bad news from the troops while at the same time announcing real or invented good news. This seems to have been a common topos, possibly drawn from the anonymous *Rhetorica militaris* of the sixth century — see cap. XIX—XXII, which recommends the reading of false letters from the emperor to encourage the soldiers. Note DAGRON’s comment on this genre, *Modèle islamique* 226ff., esp. 226 and n. 33, for example. Cf. Maurice, Strat. VIII 1, 12—13.

(B) 80—81 ὁ Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ: from the description that follows this clearly has nothing to do with Julius Caesar. The name — like that of Constantine the Great — is clearly a cover for either an unnamed emperor, or — far more probably — an iconoclast in the compiler's source. See supra (B) 3 and note. REISKE's suggestion, that this is an error for ὁ ἄγιος Καῖσαρ, and refers to Constantine the Great also seems unlikely (followed, incidentally, by ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 91).

(B) 81 ὀλίγους τῆς τάξεως ὑποκρατήσας: the imperial *taxis*, i. e. loosely the group of officials accompanying the emperor — those of the imperial table and household service, the *basilikoi archontes*, and so on. See infra on (B) 110—111. *Taxis* in this context is to be differentiated from *προέλευσις*, retinue in the more general sense. See the comments of ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, *Préséance* 108, n. 63; and VOGT, *Cer. Comm.* I 7—8.

(B) 82 τὰ τάγματα: the units of the imperial guard based in or near Constantinople. There were originally two (the *Scholai* and *Exkoubita*) but Eirēnē added the *Vigla* or *Arithmos*, Nicephorus I the *Hikanatoi*. Later came the *Hetaireia* with its attached units of Chazars and *Pharganoi*. See HALDON, *Praetorians* 228ff.; 266, n. 743. These all accompanied the emperor on expeditions — cf. *DAI* 51, 42—43 — and by the end of the ninth century accompanied the *domestikos* of the *Scholai* regardless of whether the emperor was present or not.

(B) 83—84 τὰ πλεῖστα . . . σκηνάς: for the full list of horses and baggage provided for the imperial household and cortège, see text (C). For the imperial tents or pavilions, of which there were usually two, see (C) 162sq.

(B) 84—85 περὶ καθάρσεως . . . ψυχικῆς: spiritual purification before a campaign was a standard element, as well as before battle: see Leo, *Tact.* XII 72; XIV 1: Ὑποτιθέμεθα οὖν σοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, πρό γε πάντων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πολέμου καθαρὸν εἶναι τὸν στρατὸν καὶ εὐχὴν γενέσθαι διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκτενῆ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἁγιασθῆναι πάντας καὶ οὕτως καὶ ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις πεισθῆναι, ὅτι τὸν Θεὸν ἔχουσι βοηθόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο κινῆσαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον λαμπροὺς καὶ προθύμους. *Ibid.* XX 172: Ἡνίκα δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξάγειν μέλλεις πρὸς πόλεμον, δεῖ μὲν καθαρὰς αὐτὰς ἐξ ἁμαρτημά-

των εἶναι, φροντίσεις δὲ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων καθαγνίσαι αὐτὰς δι' εὐλογίας . . . ; and cf. Niceph., Praec. 20, 22—21, 3. See the detailed remarks of McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory* 245—252.

(B) 91 τρίτον σφραγίσας τὴν πόλιν: cf. (C) 321—324; and De Cer. 347, 11: καὶ σφραγίσας τὸν λαὸν ἐκ τρίτου On σφραγίζειν for making the sign of the Cross, see DU CANGE 1499 s. v.

(B) 92—93 ἡρίστα . . . κυριακῆς: REISKE, Comm. 486—487, thought the phrase probably referred to the number of courses at each meal; although he did not exclude it referring to the number of persons with whom the emperor ate. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *Epist. Ep. Phil. Schol. Panep. Ath.* 5 (1954/55) 51—52, demonstrated that the latter must be correct: cf. De Cer. 603, 10; 604, 15. 21; where the emperor dines διὰ ις' or διὰ ἕξ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS points out that sixteen- or even a six-course meal would be unlikely! See also ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, *Préséance* 182, n. 178.

(B) 92 συνοψισθῆναι: συνοψίζω: cf. Theoph. 331, 12; 372, 31; 436, 10; and DU CANGE 1487 s. v.

(B) 95 ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου: see below on (C) 263sq.; and above, on (B) 70.

(B) 96 ἄχρι τῆς κορτίνος: κόρτις, Lat. *cors/cortis* or *cohors/-tis*; also κόρτη/τῆς κόρτης; κορτινάριοι; see below on (C) 537; and see KAHANE, *Western Impact* 131—132; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, *Préséance* 341, n. 308; DU CANGE 717 s. v.; cf. Leo, *Tact.* XI 20. The term *kortē* was usually reserved for the emperor's pavilion, or the headquarters tent of a thematic *stratēgos*: cf. Anon. *Vári* 5, 12. 14. 21; 6, 12; 14, 22 (DENNIS 1, 108. 109. 115. 130; 6, 29). In addition, it had the wider meaning of the staff attached to the emperor's tent — cf. infra (B) 117. Apart from *kortē*, the term σκηνή was also used, for tents in general, along with τένδα, tent or canopy. Cf. DU CANGE 1544 s. v. and Leo, *Tact.* XI 16; X 12; Niceph., Praec. 18, 32; Anon. *Vári* 5, 16. 21; 14, 10. 14 (DENNIS 1, 111. 115; 6, 20. 24).

(B) 96 τοὺς ἄρχοντας: a generic term for all officials and officers bearing a title, active, titular or honorary, applied also to members of the upper strata of society. See Leo, *Tact.* IV 5. 30. 31. In this text it refers to the members of the emperor's entourage, and to the

mainly military officials involved in one way or another with the expedition.

(B) 97 ἀποκόμβιν: see REISKE, Comm. 487—488; HENDY, Studies 338—339; 355; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance s. v.; GUILLAND, REG 58 (1945) 208ff. A term used of purses or bags containing a specific number of (gold) coins, tied and sealed; imperial *rogai* were issued in this form, as were largesses or similar issues of coin, as this example illustrates. See De Cer. 182, 8—11; 241, 1—3, for example.

(B) 97 μαϊουμᾶν: Lat. *maiuma* (May festival), used in the Byzantine and late Roman periods of either feasts, the issue of victuals for such occasions, or — more usually — cash largesses. See Lydus, De Mensibus 133, 1: μαϊουμίζειν τὸ ἑορτάζειν . . . ἐξ οὗ καὶ Μαϊουμᾶν. See REISKE, Comm. 489; JONES, LRE 561; 977—978; 1021; K. PREISENDANZ, Art. Maiuma. RE XIV/1 (1928) 610—612; and cf. Theoph. 451, 26; De Cer. 649, 10: φιλοτιμία τις ἢ μαϊμάς; and note (B) 102, (C) 283, 534, 536, 540; and Scriptor incertus 337, 2—3; note I. ROCHOW, Beiträge der Chronik des Theophanes zum mittelgriechischen Wortschatz. *Klio* 69 (1987) 567—572, see 568—571. For the best detailed treatment of the occasion and frequency of imperial largesse, see HENDY, Studies 192—201.

(B) 98 ἕκαστον θέμα: in the original sense of “each army”. See HALDON, Recruitment 30; LILIE, Die byz. Reaktion 287ff. From the middle of the eighth century at the latest the term was used to refer to both the provincial armies and the territories in which they were established; and even to detachments of these armies: see (C) 565, where *thema* means detachments from the thematic forces. For the different uses, see Anon. Vári 1, 13—14 (DENNIS 1, 14—15) (*tagmata* as opposed to *themata*); Leo, Tact. IV 1 (*thema* as territory); and cf. *ibid.* IV 31; DAI 52, 2. 5; and 52, 12 (where *stratos* is opposed to *thema*).

(B) 100 τοὺς ἀρχοντας τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέματος: i. e. the officers of the units and administration of the *thema*: *stratēgos*, *prōtonotarios*, *tourmarchai*, *drouggarokomētes*, *merarchēs*, *komēs tēs kortēs*, *chartouliarios*, *domestikos tou thematos* and others. On these, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 341; for *drouggarokomētes*, see HALDON-KENNEDY, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 103 and on (C) 654 *infra*.

(B) 101 τὴν δὲ χρεῖαν τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπηρεσίας: that is, the requirements of the imperial table service and household (for gifts, the provision of feasts, etc.). Cf. Anon. Vári 5, 14—19 (DENNIS 1, 109sq.): pitched around the imperial tent are those of the staff making up the *hypēresia*: *prōtovesiarios*, *epi tēs trapezēs*, *phylax* (connected probably with the *eidikon*, see HENDY, Studies 310—311, n. 262 and literature), *koitōnitai*, *hebdomaríoi*.

(B) 101 σφακτά: sheep/lambs or other animals for slaughter, brought on the hoof. See on (C) 146sq. infra.

(B) 102 τὸ ψωμίον τῆς φιλοτιμίας: with the general sense of food or provisions for feasts, i. e. largesses in kind.

(B) 102 τὸν λοιπὸν μαΐουμᾶν: possibly suggesting that for the writer of this text the *maïuma* was normally understood to be the issue of provisions for a feast or celebratory meal of some sort.

(B) 103 ὁ πρωτονοτάριος: from the early ninth century, each *thema* seems to have had one *prōtonotarios*, under the authority of the palatine bureau of the *sakellion*, and responsible for the day-to-day fiscal administration of the *thema*. See BURY, Administrative System 94; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 315 and literature; R. GUIL- LAND, Chartulaire et grand chartulaire. *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 9 (1971) 405—426, see 413 (= IDEM, Titres et fonctions XVIII); and esp. WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 120ff.; 140—143. See on (C) 349—350 infra.

(B) 103—104 ἐκ τοῦ ἀερικοῦ (ἀερίου L) λόγου: note the classicizing variant of L; M has the correct form. The *aerikon* was a reserve drawn from the collection of the land-assessment, introduced under Justinian by John of Cappadocia. See OSTROGORSKY, Steuer-gemeinde 53—56; HENDY, Studies 237—238. It seems to have formed part of the resources held in the provincial treasury of the *prōtonotarios*, which may be the successor to the regional treasuries of the praetorian prefecture (JONES, LRE 450; HENDY, Studies 411—412). The later ἀήρ was a (regularised) judicial tax or fine and is quite different in nature. See, for example, LAIOU, Peasant Society 158ff.

(B) 104 καὶ τῶν συνωνῶν: συνωνή, Lat. *coemptio*, originally signifying an irregular compulsory purchase or levy in grain or other produce for the state — especially the army. By the middle Byzantine period, it was applied to the regular land-tax assessment (see OSTROGORSKY, Steuergemeinde 50ff.); although DÖLGER, Finanzverwaltung 54—59, argued that it referred rather to an additional levy over and above the assessment for the *kapnikon* and the land-tax. See HENDY, Studies 51; 607; 611—612; HALDON, Praetorians 585 and n. 951. OSTROGORSKY's hypothesis seems the more likely. The term was sometimes used also as an equivalent of *annona*, rations in kind; but the latter term was still employed in this sense also, in opposition to *misthon*, cash payment. Cf. De Vel. Bell. 188, 19; 189, 1 (DENNIS 2, 15. 20; DAGRON-MIHĂESCU II 11. 15).

(B) 104 ἐκ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ: τὸ εἰδικὸν λογοθέσιον: the “special” treasury as opposed to the *genikon logothesion* of the old praetorian prefecture of the East: see JONES, LRE 450 and references; HENDY, Administrative Basis 134f.; IDEM, Studies 410; 412; 629 and literature; and LAURENT, Corpus II 303ff. For different views, see also BURY, Administrative System 86ff. and 98f.; DÖLGER, Finanzverwaltung 35—39; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 316—317. This special treasury supplied a variety of items: cash for the *rogai* of the senate; expenses for the fleet; precious cloths; various uniforms; and so forth. It was headed by the εἰδικός (λογοθέτης). See HENDY, Studies 629, for a note on the medieval and the modern tendency to confuse εἰδικός with ἰδικός. Note the variant in M.

(B) 107 προέλευσις: staff/retinue = *basilikoi anthrōpoi*. In the formal language of the system of ranks there was a difference between those titles which were προελευσιμαῖοι and those which were συγκλητικοί (i. e. those attached to the emperor's person, imperial ranks; and those of senatorial origin), see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 99, n. 57; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 43ff. In general, the term meant simply “accompanying staff/persons”, such as the *proeleusis* of a thematic *stratēgos*: cf. De Cer. 663, 8sq.; 666, 16—20; Leo, Tact. IV 30; VI 1; IX 10; see also on *taxis* at (B) 81 supra. But the term was also applied to formal processions or progresses, see EBERSOLT, Mélanges 41; VOGT, Cér. Comm. I 5—7; it was an equivalent of the earlier *prokenson* (Lat. *processus*) which it had replaced by the tenth century; and it was used also of any public imperial outing or

progress, as well as of those within the precincts of the great palace: see DAI 51, 18. 40. 45. 142 (*prokenson*); and 13, 46; 50, 215; see DAI Comm. 65; 193; note also ΒΟΑΚ, The Master 118; and cf. Theoph. 226, 19; Leo Diac. 64, 22; and ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 166, n. 142. See references and literature in McCORMICK, Eternal Victory 93, n. 58.

(B) 108—109 ἵπποι μετὰ ἀληθινῶν βορκαδίων: ἀληθινός signifies here (dyed with) genuine purple. A variety of terms was used to describe “real” purple (πορφύρα, ὀλοβήρα, ἀλουργίς, ἰαστά, along with a variety of compounds built around them) as opposed to “red” purple (ὀξέα, Τυρέα) and “false” Tyrian purple (ψευδοξέα). See GUILLAND, REG 62 (1949) 333—334 and n. 3; EBERSOLT, Mélanges 54, n. 5; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈΣ, BBP VI 281; NICOLE, Ep. Bibl. 92—93; Ps.-Cod. (VERPEAUX) 144, n. 1. See on (C) 173 — *diblattia* — infra. Note also the occasional use of the term *kastorion* to denote real or sea purple: cf. De Cer. 438, 10—11; Dig. Ak. 206, 736; Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos 1723; 1725; and see Suidas III 39, 30: καστόριον εἶδος βαφῆς ἀπὸ τῆς κογχύλης. The term should not be confused with the adjective for beaver or beaverskin: cf. Ed. Diocl. 8, 31 and commentary 245. See also Testament d’Eustathios Boilas 143. On the Mediterranean silk-dyeing industry in the tenth/twelfth centuries, see GOITEIN, Med. Soc. I 106f., for general comments and literature; and for the classical and late antique background, see CEHE II 359ff. For *borkadia*, see on (C) 124 infra.

(B) 109—110 οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἄρχοντες· εἶτα οἱ στρατόρες . . . : these two groups, along with others, made up the imperial *proleusis*. The *archontes* will have included the commander(s) of the *basilikoi anthrōpoi* (see HALDON, Praetorians 423—424, n. 299; 460, n. 411; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 328); the higher officials of the *sekreta*, along with the *domestikos* of the household service, the head of the imperial table, as well as the imperial *prōtostratōr* and the *komēs tou stablou* are certainly included. Cf. De Cer. 81, 18sq. and see Anon. Vári 5, 15—6, 9 (DENNIS 1, 110—128), where those accompanying the emperor on such an expedition include: ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, κοιτωνῆται, ἐβδομάριοι, οἱ τοῦ στάβλου ἄρχοντες, μαγκλαβῖται, πανθεῶται, ὁ λογοθέτης, ὁ πρωτοασηκρήτης κτλ., apart from various officers of the *tagmata*; and from (C) 371—388, a similar list includes — apart from the extended staffs of the stable (at Constantinople

and Malagina) and the staff of the *stratiōtikon*, and the *prōtoasēkrētēs* (the *dekanos*) (see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 310—311) — the following: ἡ βασιλικὴ ὑπουργία, ἡ βασιλικὴ κόρτη, τὸ οἰκειακὸν βασιλικὸν βεστιάριον, ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος, ὁ εἰδικός, οἱ ἑβδομάριοι, οἱ κοιτωνῖται, οἱ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, κτλ. For the *hebdomarioi*, see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 318. The *stratores* are those *tou stratorikiou*, under the *prōtostratōr*, responsible for the horses from the imperial stables, and forming thereby also a guard or company of attendants on the emperor's person. This functional position is not to be confused with the honorific dignity of *stratōr*, to which it gave rise. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 337—338; BURY, Administrative System 117—118; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur 34; 41f.

(B) 110 μετὰ σελλαρίων: the term is used in this and other texts of riding horses, as opposed to pack-animals, cf. De Cer. 551, 14; and note DU CANGE 1349—1350; and Lat. *sellarius*, horse with a saddle. Cf. Lat. *sella*, seat/saddle, and Maurice, Strat., passim; Leo, Tact. VI 8—10 etc., Niceph., Praec. 11, 35 and LP XC. V (DUCHESNE I 390): *sellares imperiales*, *sellas et frenos inauratos* . . . Cf. (C) 347 and (C) 394. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 339, notes that *sellarioi* denotes the attendants or *syntrophoi* of the *sellaria*. Note the term *promosella* ([C] 108; and Theoph. 473, 27) meaning baggage-train. *Sella* must not be confused with *sellion* — seat or throne, cf. De Cer. 23, 17; 67, 10; 92, 17—19 etc. and GUILLAND, REG 58 (1945) 202 and n. 7 (but see De Vel. Bell. 226, 16 [DENNIS 16, 13; DAGRON-MIHĂESCU XVI 10]: *sagmosellia* — saddle-bags or pack-saddles).

(B) 110—111 μυστικώτερα τάξις: μυστικός is a term generally used to describe both “private” and “imperial” — the later *mystikos* is supposed by some to have been a private secretary, having his own *sekretion*, and being connected with the administration of justice (see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 324—325; and P. MAGDALINO, The Not-So-Secret Function of the Mystikos. REB 42 [1984] 229—240). In this case, the term refers simply to the accompanying imperial retinue in opposition to the troops of the *themata* and *tagmata*. See EBERSOLT, Mélanges 40, n. 3 and references.

(B) 111—112 ἀπὸ σαγιττοβόλων τριῶν: the bowshot was equal to 328,8 metres approx. See SCHILBACH, Metrologie 42. It is a common unit of measurement in Byzantine military and other texts. See, for

example, Anon. Vári 11, 20; 21, 31sq.; 40, 7—8 (DENNIS 4, 7; 10, 59; 21, 82); Theoph. 319, 8 etc.

(B) 112—113 τὰ τάγματα, καὶ τούτων τὰ τιμώτερα . . . : the ranking order of the tagmatic units was (1) *Scholai* (2) *Exkoubita* (3) *Arithmos/Vigla* (4) *Hikanatoi*; see BURY, Administrative System 47ff.; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 329ff.; AHRWEILER, Recherches 24ff.; HALDON, Praetorians 276ff. The more “honoured” were therefore the *Scholai* and *Exkoubita*. See (C) 475—478; and compare Anon. Vári 25 (DENNIS 14).

(B) 114—115 τὰ ἐνδοξότερα τῶν θεμάτων . . . : in the *Klētorologion* of Philotheos the *themata* are listed in order of precedence; the *themata* in the unamended list here ([A] 6—14) would, according to Philotheos, be ranked as follows: Anatolikon, Armeniakon, Thrakēsion, Boukellarion, Kappadokia, Charsianon, Kolōneia, Paphlagonia (Sebasteia, Seleukeia: not in Klet. Phil., see Takt. Benešević 247, 13, 15). See Klet. Phil. 101, 5sq. The amended list adds the Opsikion and Thrace, which would in this case follow Thrakēsion and Paphlagonia respectively. Note (C) 478.

(B) 116 οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀπληκτα . . . ὁδοῦς: local soldiers from each *thema* were responsible for guiding the armies, selecting the best routes, campsites, river-crossings etc.; as well as for accompanying and guiding the baggage-train and the tents which had been sent on ahead of the emperor’s column to specified sites, in order to prepare for his arrival. Cf. (C) 561—569. These soldiers are the same as the *doukatores* of Anon. Vári 28, 8—29, 20 (DENNIS 18, 1sq.); cf. Leo, Tact. IV 22—23; IX 7; 8; 38. Note that the Anon. Vári differentiates between the specialist *doukatores* on the one hand, and the local peasants who know their district on the other: Anon. Vári 28, 13sq. (DENNIS 18, 7sq.). See (B) 143—146; and De Vel. Bell. 188, 4sq.; 189, 2—7 (DENNIS 2, 3sq. 20sq.; DAGRON-MIHĂESCU II 2sq. 15sq.) for the same difference.

(B) 117 μετὰ τῆς κόρτης καὶ τῆς ὑπουργίας . . . : the *kortē* referred to both the imperial tent and pavilion, and the necessary baggage and equipment that accompanied it, together with, by extension, the attached personnel. See on (B) 96 supra. Each thematic *stratēgos* seems to have had on his staff a *komēs tēs kortēs* (cf. Leo, Tact. IV

30; and (C) 570—573: the *komites* have their staff of *kortinarioi* to set up the tent. Cf. DU CANGE 718 s. v.; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 341; BURY, Administrative System 43). The emperor might have himself an imperial *komēs tēs kortēs*, cf. Th. Cont. 9, 11; 12, 11—12; Genesis I 8, 53—54; otherwise, the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* supervised the thematic *komites tēs kortēs*. In the later ninth and tenth centuries, the *minsouratōr*, on the staff of the *papias*, was jointly responsible for the imperial tent(s), along with an imperial *komēs tēs kortēs*, if present, and seems normally to have taken charge of the tent itself. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 306, n. 100; and (B) 48; (C) 158—159, 162sq.: διὰ τοῦ μινσουράτορος, ἤγουν τῆς βασιλικῆς κόρτης . . . See above, on (B) 96. The tent or pavilion itself seems to have been big enough to accommodate a large number of persons. Anna Komnēnē reports that Alexios' I tent could receive a considerable number of officers as well as the imperial throne: Alexiad I 8, 2; IX 9, 1; XI 3, 2. While of a later date, there is no reason to doubt the relevance of this description for the period with which our text deals.

The ὑπουργία represents the department of the imperial table, headed by ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, seconded by ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας, with a staff of ὑπουργοί (compare also [C] 364), also called ἐγγιστάριοι or ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, and a *notarios* (Leo Gramm. 303, 18; see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 305—306; BURY, Administrative System 125—126; GUILLAND, Institutions I 239ff.). Note that the *epi tēs trapezēs* had both the *kastrēsios* and the *kēnarios* under his authority: see W. SEIBT, Über das Verhältnis von κηνάριος bzw. δομέστικος τῆς τραπέζης zu den anderen Funktionären der βασιλική τράπεζα in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit. *BZ* 72 (1979) 34—38; for an older view, see BURY, Administrative System 126. There were at least forty *hypourgoi* to serve the imperial table (see [C] 376—377) and in addition there were imperial cooks attached (see [C] 526, 528). For the *kortē* and the *hypourgia* together, see Theoph. 462, 11—12: ἐξῆλθε πᾶσα ἡ βασιλικὴ ὑπουργία καὶ ἡ κόρτη ἕως τῶν Μαλαγίνων . . . In fact, *hypourgia* represents more than the imperial table service; it signifies also the imperial baggage-train, ceremonial service, and includes also the *koitōn* and the private *vestiarion* and their staffs. Cf. (C) 150sq., 372—374 and Theoph. 468, 1: τὴν κόρτην μετὰ πάσης τῆς βασιλικῆς ὑπουργίας . . . Note Anon. Vári 20, 13; 22, 9 etc. (DENNIS 10, 17, 66), where the term *hypourgikon* represents the administration of the imperial service and baggage in general, and *hypourgoi* signifies

servants or attendants; cf. *ibid.* 21, 10; 43, 5 (DENNIS 10, 39; 24, 7); also *De Vel. Bell.* 218, 22—219, 1 (DENNIS 14, 12; DAGRON—MIHĂESCU XIV 8): ἡ μὲν ἀποσκευὴ αὐτῶν καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ὑπουργικόν On the technical value of these terms, see DAGRON, Phocas 186 ff.

(B) 119 τοὺς δὲ ὀδηγούς . . . : cf. on (B) 116 above. The sentence emphasises the local nature of the thematic guides: cf. Leo, *Tact.* XVII 24.

(B) 119—120 ὁ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης: the commander of the imperial Watch, and of the third *tagma* of guards, responsible for security in the imperial camp and in the palace (see [C] 420). On this officer and his unit, see HALDON, Praetorians 236 ff. and literature.

(B) 120—121 αἱ παραμοναὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν . . . τὰ κελεύόμενα αὐτοῖς . . . : cf. Anon. *Vári* 7, 23—25 (DENNIS 1, 166—168): ἐν δὲ τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ δρουγγαρίου τῆς βίγλας αἱ παραμοναὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ἔν τε ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ προσεδρεύεωσαν These *paramonai* may have been made up from the *hetaireia* of each thematic general (headed by the *komeš teš hetaireias*, cf. Klet. Phil. 111, 2; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Préséance* 341; BURY, *Administrative System* 44; and see *De Cer.* 659, 15, where the *stratēgos* of Samos must send his *komeš* to the *katepanō*: Bury supplies τὸν κόμητα between ἵνα ἀποσταλεῖ and τῆς ἑταιρείας to read: ἵνα ἀποσταλεῖ τὸν κόμητα τῆς ἑταιρείας μετὰ κελεύσεως πρὸς τὸν κατεπάνω . . . , which matches the sense of the passage here and in the Anon. *Vári*). They may also have been made up from among the *kentarchoi* and *spatharioi* attached to each *stratēgos*: cf. Klet. Phil. 111, 1, and ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Préséance* 341; BURY, *Administrative System* 43—44; or from the *mandatores* of each *stratēgos* (each unit, down to and including the *bandon*, had *mandatores*, see Leo, *Tact.* IV 16. 35. 49; and Klet. Phil. 111, 4—5; Leo, *Tact.* XI 20, following Maurice, *Strat.* XII B 22, 29—32: Ἐκαστος δὲ τουρμάρχης ἵνα ἴδιον μανδάτορα ἀφορίσῃ, ὥστε εἶναι εἰς τὴν κόρτην τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προσεδρεύοντα ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς δρουγγαρίους καὶ κόμητας εἰς τὴν τένταν τοῦ τουρμάρχου, ἵνα διὰ τούτων συντόμως γινώσκωσι πάντες τὰ ἐντελλομένα).

(B) 122 ἡ . . . δοχή: reception. Cf. *De Cer.* 156, 3 (VOGT, *Cér.* I 144, 10; REISKE, *Comm.* 30; 83—84) and (C) 797. See also on *deximon* at (C) 448 *infra*.

(B) 123 παρατεταγμένον: drawn up in order. Emphasis was placed on maintaining order, both in camp and on the march: cf. Anon. Vári 19, 29—20, 1sq. (DENNIS 10, 3sq.); Leo, Tact. IX 5; 28; etc. See (C) 475: καὶ περιπατοῦσι παρατεταγμένοι; and cf. Maurice, Strat. I 9, 6sq.

(B) 128 ἡ κατάστασις: ceremony/order: cf. DAI 13, 115. 145; 53, 100; and (C) 795: τὴν μὲν κατάστασιν τῆς πόλεως. Note REISKE, Comm. 76; 857. Also in the sense of “procedure/order”, see Anon. Vári 1, 1 (DENNIS 1, 3); Niceph., Praec. 12, 1; and on the palatine official ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 309; BURY, Administrative System 118—119. See on (C) 718—719 infra, ὁ ἀδμισσιονάλιος.

(B) 128 τὰ ἀοίκητα: this seems to be an equivalent of τὰς ἐρήμους (en route for Syria) at (C) 512, 539, 556, 561 and suggests deserted lands rather than “deserts” (see [C] 556: εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς τῆς ἐρήμου . . .). See LILIE, Die byz. Reaktion 188ff.; 336 (map); 339ff. on the “buffer zone” or “no-man’s land” between Muslim and Christian states; and cf. Anon. Vári 50, 24 (DENNIS 29, 26), for example, where the ἐρημία is assumed to lie between Roman and hostile territory. See (C) 529 and REISKE, Comm. 481—482.

(B) 131 ἐδίδου δὲ αὐτοῖς: a separate commander was appointed to the extra baggage, injured or lame horses, ill soldiers and so on. See (C) 514—515, and cf. Leo, Tact. X 19; De Vel. Bell. 226, 5—13 (DENNIS 16, 5sq.; DAGRON-MIHĂESCU XVI 3sq.); and Maurice, Strat. V 3. Cf. Anon. Vári 26, 1sq. (DENNIS 15, 1sq.).

(B) 134 ἀπὸ τῶν θεμάτων μοίρας: a *moira*, according to Leo, Tact. IV 42; 43 etc., is the old-fashioned term for *drouggos* used in Leo’s time — cf. Maurice, Strat. I 3, 6; 4, 2; 4, 4; II 1, 6 etc. In Maurice, *moira* appears throughout, although it may have been used only in such treatises, not in everyday speech (*drouggos* in the *Stratēgikon* is used where later *meros* would appear: see HALDON, Praetorians 385—386). This text suggests that it did remain in use in later treatises as well. But the term probably means simply “detachments” rather than any specific technical meaning — see (C) 563—564.

(B) 134—135 τοὺς μὲν προπορεύεσθαι . . . τοῦ φοσσάτου: this arrangement for marching orders was standard — it is repeated, with minor variations, in all the military manuals, and there is no reason to

believe that it was not also practiced, as far as the commanders were aware of it. See (C) 564sq.; and see Leo, Tact. IX 37; 38; XVII 71 etc.; Anon. Vári 19, 29sq. (DENNIS 10, 2sq.); and note also Leo, Tact. IX 36 (the *touldon* in the centre) and IX 60; 61.

For φοσσάτον, Lat. *fossatum*, originally military camp (entrenched position) as an equivalent for στρατόπεδον, but later used also for army or military force, cf. DU CANGE 1691—1692; and see, for example, Theoph. 393, 10; 500, 32; Anon. Vári 33, 10; and 19, 8, 9; 41, 21; 43, 15; 44, 3 (DENNIS 20, 47; 9, 24, 25; 22, 14; 24, 15; 25, 8); Kekaumenos 9, 5; 12, 25; 15, 15 (LITAVRIN 134, 2; 142, 3; 146, 24): used as army/camp: Theoph. 233, 23; 319, 12; 325, 2; 387, 16; cf. Leo, Tact. IX 1; X 9; 13; 14; and as ditch or entrenchment, see Leo, Tact. epilog. 59; and XVII 106. Cf. φοσσατεύειν, go on an expedition (see [C] 8; Theoph. 192, 19—20; 462, 10, for example). For *stratopedon* as army, see e. g. Anon. Vári 3, 3; 15, 4, 10; 40, 19 (DENNIS 1, 53; 6, 41, 48; 21, 92); and as camp, Leo, Tact. IX 1. See further DAGRON, Phocas, Index 339 s. v.

(B) 136 οὗς καλοῦσι νωτοφύλακας: that is to say, in military manuals — cf. Leo, Tact. IV 28; Theoph. 396, 4 etc. During the tenth century this classical term was replaced by the word *saka*, Turk. *saqat*, cf. MORAVCSIK, Byzantinoturcica II 263—264; A. DAIN, Σάκα dans les traités militaires. *BZ* 44 (1951) 94—96; and see Syll. Tact. XXIII 7, 8; 29, 1; XLVI 17—21; De Vel. Bell. 226, 20; 228, 5 (DENNIS 16, 17, 45; DAGRON—MIHĂESCU XVI 13, 37); Anon. Vári 52, 4sq. (DENNIS 31, 3sq.), etc. The reference to the rearguard as pursuers of soldiers who turn back through cowardice etc. suggests that this was not an uncommon feature: cf. Anon. Vári 50, 11—12 (DENNIS 29, 13sq.); Leo, Tact. XVII 71; XX 165; 166. See DAGRON, Phocas 59, n. 4.

(B) 138 πλαγιοφύλακας: see Leo, Tact. IV 25; Anon. Vári 20, 21; 25, 16 (DENNIS 10, 22; 14, 20sq.) etc.

(B) 143—146 οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προτρέχοντες ... τῶν πολέμων αὐτῶν: very similar to the advice in Anon. Vári 28, 8sq. (DENNIS 18, 2sq.); cf. Leo, Tact. IV 23. Note that the earlier version of the text in M has προτρέχοντες, confirming ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS' emendation suggested in *Epist. Epet. Phil. Schol. Panep. Ath.* 5 (1954/55) 50—51; cf. De Vel. Bell. 218, 1 (DENNIS 13, 20; DAGRON—MIHĂESCU XIII 14).

(B) 146 ὀπισθοφύλακας: = νωτοφύλακας: cf. Anon. Vári 20, 27 (DENNIS 10, 27); on the importance of alternating the rear- and vanguards, see Anon. Vári 52, 1sq. (DENNIS 31, 2sq.). Note that the version in M adopted here seems more complete than that preserved in L, which actually states the opposite: the rearguards should be alternated because of the difficulty of their task, not the flank-guards.

(B) 149 περιχαρακωθέντες: to entrench, dig a ditch around the camp. Cf. Anon. Vári 4, 15; 12, 19; 22, 22; 40, 7 etc. (DENNIS 1, 88; 4, 30; 11, 2; 21, 81); and cf. Niceph., Praec. 19, 29 (*chandaka* for *charaka*); Theoph. 192, 19; 395, 19—20; Leo, Tact. epilog. 59; and XX 34.

(C) 1—5 see in general DAI, Comm. 9—10; DÖLGER, BES 9—33; 140—158; IDEM, Byz. Diplomatiek 130—151; TREITINGER, Reichsidee; ENSSLIN, Gottesgnadentum; IDEM, Gottkaiser.

(C) 1—2 Κωνσταντίνου ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰώνιῳ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων: for the emperor as slave of Christ and ruler of the Roman (i. e. the civilised) world, see DÖLGER, BES 23; TREITINGER, Reichsidee 146, n. 8; RÖSCH, "Όνομα 62—63; and note also O. KRISTEN, Iustinianos I., der „christusliebende“ Kaiser. Zum Epitheton φιλόχριστος in den Intitulationes byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden. *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 21 (1979) 83—109, see 108, n. 82. See DAI Comm. 9; and cf. *ibid.*, proem. tit.

βασιλεύς became an official title from 629: cf. TREITINGER, Reichsidee 39; L. BRÉHIER, L'origine des titres impériaux à Byzance. *BZ* 15 (1906) 173; G. OSTROGORSKY, Avtokrator i Samodržac. *Glas. Srpsk. kral. Akad.* 164 (1935) 95—187, see 98—99; DÖLGER, Byz. Diplomatiek 130—131; RÖSCH, "Όνομα 37—39.

Ῥωμαίων: the epithet was added to coins in 812 to emphasise the superior position of the Byzantine over the western/Frankish emperor, although it had been in regular use since the seventh century in other contexts: see RÖSCH, "Όνομα 111—116, 155f.; E. STEIN, Zum mittelalterlichen Titel „Kaiser der Rhomäer“. *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 6 (1930) 182ff.; OSTROGORSKY—STEIN, Krönungsordnungen 195; TREITINGER, Reichsidee 161; 187, n. 117; DÖLGER BES 80, n. 17; OHNSORGE, Abendland und Byzanz 27; 30 (and cf. DÖLGER, BES 297ff. and Byz. Diplomatiek 135, n. 24).

(C) 2—4 υἱοῦ Λέοντος . . . βασιλέως: the emphasis on family and dynas-

tic antecedents is clear; see DAI 22, 80—81 and (C) 28—30.

ἀοίδιμος: normally used of deceased emperors; see (C) 502; and cf. DAI 29, 73. 83. 89; 30, 127; 40, 8 etc.

σοφωτάτου: see (C) 29; Leo was already in his own lifetime called “the wise” or “most wise”: see OSTROGORSKY, *Geschichte* 202 and literature; and see, for example, Klet. Phil. 81, 3; 187, 17 etc.; Th. Cont. 282, 16—17; see DÖLGER, *BES* 201, n. 13; C. MANGO, *The Legend of Leo the Wise*. *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 59—93, see 68; 90—92; and see J. IRMSCHER, *Die Gestalt Leons VI. des Weisen in Volkssage und Historiographie*, in: *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.—11. Jahrhundert*, ed. by V. VAVŘÍNEK. Prag 1978, 205—224.

ἀπογόνου: Constantine was keen to emphasise the inheritance and legitimate succession from his father Leo VI (29th August 886—12th Mai 912) and his grandfather Basil I (24th September 867—29th August 886), particularly in view of the difficulties he had experienced with Romanos I and his sons (see TOYNBEE, *Const. Porph.* 12—13) and in order to re-affirm his claims to precedence. See (C) 51; and DAI 22, 81; *De Them.* X 10—11; and GRIERSON, *Tombs and Obits* 57—58.

ἀνδρικωτάτου καὶ γενναιοτάτου: Constantine himself fostered this image of Basil as a bold and fearless soldier-emperor, descended from the ancient line of the Arsacids (see TOYNBEE, *Const. Porph.* 582ff. with full documentation); and he continued the tradition inaugurated by his father in eulogising Basil's achievements. See the *epitaphios* delivered by Leo on his father: A. VOGT-I. HAUSHER, *Oraison funèbre de Basile I par son fils Léon le Sage* (*Orientalia Christiana* 36/1, no. 77). Rome 1932; see TOYNBEE, *loc. cit.*, and note Leo, *Tact.* IX 13.

(C) 4—5 Ῥωμανὸν τὸν Θεοστεφῆ βασιλέα καὶ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ: the address is to his son Romanos (II), co-emperor from 6th April 945, sole ruler from 9th November 959 to 15th March 963; see OSTROGORSKY, *Geschichte* 236—237; OSTROGORSKY-STEIN, *Krönungsordnungen* 197, n. 3; and the review of this by F. DÖLGER, in: *BZ* 36 (1936) 149—157, see 150—151; G. DE JERPHANION, *La date du couronnement de Romain II*. *OCP* 1 (1935) 490ff. Note (C) 22.

Θεοστεφῆ: see *De Cer.* 567, 6—7; TREITINGER, *Reichsidee* 34—38; 61—62; 114; ENSSLIN, *Gottesgnadentum* 163ff.; IDEM, *Gottkaiser*, esp. 84—85; DÖLGER, *Byz. Diplomatie* 139; RÖSCH, *Ὄνομα* 66—67.

(C) 6—7 τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὑψηλοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων: see (C) 749. For μέγας cf. DÖLGER, *Byz. Diplomantik*, esp. 134—139; the term was often used of the senior emperor, see *ibid.* 136, n. 27, from the middle of the ninth century. See P. SCHREINER, *Zur Bezeichnung „Megas“ und „Megas Basileus“ in der byzantinischen Kaisertitulatur*. *Byzantinica* 3 (1971) 175—192; RÖSCH, *Ὄνομα* 47; 109.

ὑψηλός: see DÖLGER, *Byz. Diplomantik* 142ff. (from the tenth century).

(C) 8—53: the introduction to the treatise is divided into three sub-sections:

(i) (C) 8—23. An opening section emphasising the value of paternal advice to a son, both for the future and for its practical relevance for the running of the state; warning also of the consequences of ignoring such advice. It concludes by introducing the theme in hand, namely the organisation of military expeditions, and the precedents set by their imperial forbears.

(ii) (C) 24—39. Constantine notes the importance of the subject, and regrets the lack of any written memoranda of the sort required. He emphasises his own research efforts, and describes his eventual discovery of the manuscript of the *magistros* Leo Katakylas at Sigrianē, upon which he has based his own compilation.

(iii) (C) 40—53. Constantine notes that the procedures outlined in the text that follows have been passed on from the time of the Isaurian emperors at least, and were followed in detail in the reign of his grandfather Basil I.

The first of these three sections should be considered together with two passages in the *De administrando imperio* (proem. and 1, 4—15; see *Comm.* 1—9). The symbolism of the mention of Solomon is striking, and occurs in both texts; see TREITINGER, *Reichsidee* 135; GRABAR, *L'empereur* 95; see *De Cer.* 570, 17; and note the references to Psalm 71 in the proem to the *De administrando imperio*, and compare with the opening verses of the same psalm inscribed on the psalter held by David (flanked by Sophia and Prophetia) in the Paris psalter (*Par. gr.* 139), reproduced in H. BUCHTHAL, *The Exaltation of David*. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974) 330—333, a work produced during the reign of Constantine VII. This Solomonic aspect is particularly

marked in Constantine's representations of imperial authority and imperial ceremonial (cf. *De Cer.* 566, 13—14 and the reference to the Solomonic throne of the emperors), but is a well-worked motif in late Roman and Byzantine representations of imperial power — it occurs in Agapētos, George of Pisidia and in the writings of Leo VI. Note Basil I's advice to his son: *μὴ κατόκνει τὰς τῶν παλαιῶν διεξέρχασθαι γνώμας . . . καὶ πλέον πάντων τὰ τε Σολομώντεια . . .* (Basilius imperatoris Romanorum paraenesis ad Leonem filium, *PG* 107, 22—56, see 56B). The opening sentence "Listen, son . . ." is modelled on Proverbs 1, 8 and stresses Constantine's interest in this tradition. Note E. VILLE-PATLAGEAN, *Une image de Solomon en basileus byzantin. Rev. des Études Juives*, 4^e série, 1/121 (1962) 9—33; cf. Proverbs 10, 1 and the opening words of the *De administrando imperio*, proem. Note also C. BRETT, *The Automata in the "Byzantine Throne of Solomon"*. *Speculum* 29 (1954) 477—487; also G. HUXLEY, *The Scholarship of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Proc. Royal Irish Acad.* 80/2 (1980) 29—40, see 37—38 and literature. For further comment, see Averil CAMERON, *Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium. Past and Present* 84 (August 1979) 3—35, see 20—21. It is quite likely that Constantine was here deliberately invoking the tradition also emphasised by his grandfather Basil I, who had placed great stress on his role as emulator of both David and Solomon. See Photios, ep. 241, esp. 11. 91—97; and in *PG* 102, 582—584 (cf. BECK, *Kirche* 526); Th. Cont. 335. Note the comments of P. MAGDALINO, *Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I. JÖB* 37 (1987) 51—64, see 58.

Finally, the sentiments expressed in this first section, up to (C) 19, are remarkably similar to those introducing the *Stratēgikos* of Onosander (see proem. 7—10), a text with which Constantine was certainly familiar. See Introduction above, p. 54.

(C) 10—12 *γνησίους . . . προξενούντα*: see Proverbs 3, 1—4.

(C) 13 *οἱ δὲ ἐκ πατρικῆς ψυχῆς . . .*: see Proverbs 4, 1—4; 5, 7ff.

(C) 15—23 *εἰ γὰρ ἄγνοια κακόν . . . μεγαλειότητα*: the advice and knowledge offered are closely linked to the fate of the empire. Cf. DAI proem 6—14; Leo, *Tact.* proem. 677B—C.

(C) 17 *ἀναγκαιότερον*: cf. Leo, *Tact.* proem. 673B; C—D; 676A.

(C) 20—21 ταύτην γὰρ . . . ἡγήσάμεθα: see on (C) 24—25 below.

(C) 22 θεόστεπτε Ῥωμανέ: see on (C) 4—5 above, θεοστεφεῖ.

(C) 24—25 ὄθεν εὐρίσκοντες: Constantine can hardly mean here the various *taktika* and *stratēgika*, either of his own father or of the ancients, which were available in the palace archives; but is referring rather to accounts of the organisation of the expeditionary forces themselves. See (C) 18—19: ἦν (εὐταξίαν) ἐν πολέμοις εἶχον τὸ πρότερον βασιλικοῖς ταξειδίοις κατάστασιν. Cf. in contrast Leo, *Tact. proem.* 676B: Ταῖς γὰρ ἀρχαίαις καὶ ταῖς νεωτέραις στρατηγικαῖς τε καὶ τακτικαῖς ἐμφιλοχωρήσαντες μεθόδοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις καταλογάδην ἐντυχόντες ἱστορίαις, καὶ εἴ τι κατὰ χεῖρας ἔδοξε χρήσιμον τῶν ἐν πολέμοις ἀναγκαίων ἐκεῖθεν ἀναλεξάμενοι . . . For the encyclopaedic collections assembled under Constantine's direction, of both military and other texts, see the Introduction.

(C) 25—30 ὁψὲ καὶ μόλις . . . πάππου: Constantine's search for material seems to have been fairly systematic — he clearly followed up leads from his father's records, as his search for the document prepared by Katakylas suggests.

(C) 26 ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ καλουμένῃ Σιγριανῆς: the monastery was situated on the southern shore of the Bosphorus, see C. MANGO—I. ŠEVČENKO, *Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara.* *DOP* 27 (1973) 235—277, see 259—267; JANIN, *Grands centres* 195—199. The monastery of Agros (Megas Agros) was in the foothills of Sigriane (Karadağ) and is best known as the home of the Confessor Theophanes. See, for example, *DAI* 25, 1—2; 22, 77.

(C) 26—27 Λέων ὁ μάλιστα, ὃ Κατάκυλας ἦν ἐπώνυμον: see V. Euthymii (ed. DE BOOR) 140—142; (ed. KARLIN-HAYTER) 161—162; 10, 16. There is some uncertainty over his identity, the name appearing variously as Katakylas, in our text; and Katakoilas in V. Euthymii (ed. KARLIN-HAYTER) 11, 16; 27, 21; 29, 26; 31, 25. In the latter *Life* he is described as a former *drouggarios* and relative of Photios; in the V. Ignatii 569D (*PG* 105, 487—573) a certain Leo Katakālōn is similarly described — as a *drouggarios* and brother-in-law of Photios; which seems evidence that the two are one and the same — see GUILLAND, *Institutions* I 569—570. He was further identified by DE

BOOR with the Leo Katakālōn defeated in 896 at Bulgarophygon, who was *magistros* and *domestikos* of the *Scholai* (Th. Cont. 359, 23; 360, 8—13), referred to also at DAI 45, 51 as the successful commander of the campaign against Phasianē and Theodosiupolis in 902. See DAI, Comm. 173; DE BOOR, V. Euthymii 140. The fact that Constantine's Leo Katakylas entered the monastic life (in 886, after Leo VI's accession and as a result of the plotting of Zaoutzēs) is no hindrance to his having been later domestic of the *Scholai* for, as is clear from the *Vita Euthymii*, he was exiled to a monastery and then recalled (probably during the year 888: see V. Euthymii [ed. KARLIN-HAYTER] Comm. 160—161; 165—166). In this case, he will have been made *magistros* after his recall, and *domestikos* of the *Scholai* after the fall or death of Nicephorus Phocas (also engineered by Zaoutzēs) in about 894 (see H. GRÉGOIRE, La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas, in: Προσφορά εἰς Στ. Π. Κυριακίδην [Ἑλληνικά, suppl. 4]. Athens 1953, 232—254; also KARLIN-HAYTER, V. Euthymii, Comm. 151; GUILLAND, Institutions I 440 and notes; and see also DAGRON, Phocas, 168, n. 22; and J.-C. CHEYNET, *ibid.* [Appendice: les Phocas, 289—315] 293; 295). At some time before 912—913, when Constantine Doukas was *domestikos* of the *Scholai* (GUILLAND, Institutions I 440), Leo Katakylas had again been removed, or had retired or died. It is in fact probable that he once again — voluntarily — entered the monastery, where he remained until his death. Whether he wrote his treatise during his first or second period there is not known, although since he was out of favour at the beginning of Leo's reign, whereas at the end he was both a successful and experienced officer, and bore the title *magistros*, the hypothetical second period seems almost certain.

For the title *magistros*, see on (B) 58 *supra*; and OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 294 and literature. The title was awarded from the ninth century as an honorific to senior officers of state. It was often borne in tandem with that of *patrikios*, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance, *loc. cit.*; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur, *s. v.*

(C) 28 ἐγγράφως διέθετο ἐκ προσταξέως Λέοντος: possibly to be connected with the commissioning of the *Tactica* attributed to Leo himself: cf. *Tact. proem.* 676B.

(C) 29 φιλοχρίστου: see REISKE, Comm. 493—494; RÖSCH, "Όνομα 65; and O. KRESTEN, Iustinianos I., der „christusliebende“ Kaiser.

Zum Epitheton φιλόχριστος in den Intitulationes byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden. *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 21 (1979) 83—109.

(C) 30—35 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μούσης Ἑλληνικῆς ... ἐνάρετον: Constantine is critical here of Leo's lack of Hellenic learning and classical education, stressing thereby his own knowledge. Contrast with DAI 1, 8—13, where he argues in favour of a simple narrative style; cf. DAI 5, 2sq. and Comm. 12. For the theme of devotion and piety assuring truth, if not Hellenic learning, see Kekaumenos 19, 13—28; 75, 25—76, 9 (LITAVRIN 154, 23—156, 8; 272, 8—23); Leo, Tact. proem. 676D—677A; and note REISKE, Comm. 492—493.

(C) 37—39 for Constantine's expansion and elaboration of Leo Katakylas' text, see Introduction above, p. 40—44.

(C) 38 πλατικώτερον: cf. REISKE, Comm. 493.

(C) 40 ἡ ... τάξις τε καὶ ἀκολουθία: "order and procedure", see VOGT, Cér. Comm. I 7—8; cf. De Cer. 5, 14; (C) 418. The phrase recalls daily liturgical usage, see, for example, ΜΑΤΕΟΣ, Typicon 200, 1; and *ibid.*, Index (V) 277 s. v. ἀκολουθία.

(C) 41—53 Constantine's remarks are important. It is not clear whether they derive from a lost introductory section to Leo Katakylas' treatise or an independent — written or oral — tradition. But they confirm what is already apparent from the contents of the *De caerimoniis* that Constantine had access to material of the eighth century, in one form or another. See OSTROGORSKY—STEIN, Krönungsordnungen, *passim*.

(C) 41 Μιχαὴλ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότη: Michael III (21st January 842—24th September 867). For *philochristos* see on (C) 29 *supra*. For *despotēs*, the usual form of address to an emperor from the sixth century, see DÖLGER, Byz. Diplomatiek 131 and notes; cf. L. BRÉHIER, L'origine des titres impériaux à Byzance. *BZ* 15 (1906) 161—178, see 176.

(C) 41—42 Βάρδα τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου καίσαρος καὶ θείου αὐτοῦ: Bardas, brother of the empress Theodora, uncle of Michael, murdered by Basil (I) on 21st April 865, cf. OSTROGORSKY, Geschichte 183 and notes; 186f.; 193. He was caesar from 29th April 862, see OSTRO-

GORSKY—STEIN, Krönungsordnungen 226, n. 7. For *eutychès*, see RÖSCH, "Όνομα 43. For the title *caesar*, conferred upon members or adoptive members of the imperial family, see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, Pré-séance 293 and literature; VOGT, Cér. Comm. II 42—50; RÖSCH, "Όνομα 36—37.

(C) 42 εὐτυχέστατος: for this title (*felicissimus*) see VOGT, Cér. Comm. II 45; RÖSCH, "Όνομα 43.

(C) 43—44 Θεοφίλου καὶ Μιχαῆλ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πάππου: Theophilus: 3rd October 829—20th January 842; Michael II: 25th December 820—2nd October 829.

(C) 45 ἐκ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων and (C) 46 παλαιότερους δὲ φημι τοὺς Ἰσαύρους: the former appear to be the immediate predecessors of Michael and Theophilus, viz. Leo V, Michael I, Nicephorus I; the latter are the Isaurian emperors, that is, Leo III, Constantine V, Leo IV and Constantine VI.

(C) 47—50 Constantine is careful to stress that he does not mean the Roman emperors of old, that is, Constantine I, Constantius, Julian and Theodosius the Great. See Introduction above, p. 42.

(C) 54 ὁ μέγας καὶ ὑψηλὸς αὐτοκράτωρ . . .: see on (C) 6—7 supra. This is, in fact, the opening section of the treatise itself, following on from the three-part introduction. After an account of the action to be taken by an emperor intending to set out on an expedition, the text plunges immediately into detail, and is followed by a series of sub-titled sections dealing with the provision of horses, pack-animals, equipment and supplies. — For the title αὐτοκράτωρ, see DÖLGER, Byz. Diplomantik 107—117; 133ff.; RÖSCH, "Όνομα 35—36.

(C) 55—56 ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ . . . πυλῶν: the Brazen gate of the palace; see on (C) 717 infra; and MANGO, Brazen House 97ff.; JANIN, CP Byz. 110—111.

(C) 56 λωρίκιον καὶ σπαθίον καὶ σκουτάριον: on *lōrikion*, see HALDON, Milit. Technology 34; from Lat. *lorica*. See R. GROSSE, Art. Lorica. *RE* XIII/2 (1927) 1444—1449. The term was generally used to refer to mail rather than other types of defense. For *spathion*, Lat. *spatha*, from Germ., see F. LAMBERT, Art. Spatha. *RE* III/2 A (1929) 1544—1545. The symbolic hanging out or display of items of cloth-

ing or weaponry was a usual way of signalling a particular type of event. See, for example, De Cer. 623, 9sq. and 625, 11; and note the regular use of items of luxury clothing as decorations during public festivals: see, for example, on (C) 739—740 *infra*. For weapons as insignia, see WESSEL, *Insignien* 412—417.

(C) 59—60 τῷ τῶν ἀγγελῶν λογοθέτῃ: in charge of the imperial *mitata* of Asia and Phrygia. See on (B) 53 *supra*.

(C) 61—62 τοῖς τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας μητάτοις: these are the two chief imperial military stud farms or ranches for the breeding and maintaining of horses and pack-animals for imperial and military purposes. They were under the direction of the logothete of the herds — see above — with his staff of *prōtonotarios*, *notarioi*, *dioikētai* and *komites*. Under his authority were other ranches, or *episkepseis*, under *episkeptai*, see OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 312; 338, n. 296; and cf. NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU, *Patmos II* 27, 10. For another *mitaton* in Lydia, see HALDON, *Praetorians* 597, n. 988. These later *mitata* appear to be descended from the late Roman *mutationes* of the *cursus publicus*, that is, stock-breeding farms maintained for the replacement and replenishment of animals for the post and for state requirements in general, which by the tenth — and probably since the seventh — century were also sources of military horses and beasts for expeditionary forces in general. For the connection between these establishments, under the *logothetēs tōn agelōn*, and the *Dromos*, under the *logothetēs tou dromou*, see HALDON, *Praetorians*, loc. cit., and especially HENDY, *Studies* 610—611, who notes also the connection between the imposition by the state of *mitaton* upon landowners, for example, and the original meaning of the term. Note that the passage (C) 59—64 suggests that the provision of beasts from the *mitata* was not always carried out honestly. Presumably, the *logothetēs* and his officials could, on occasion, demand more horses or beasts than were actually required, and sell off or otherwise dispose of the extra animals for their own profit.

(C) 64 μωλάρια: mules, mod. Greek μουλάρι, from Lat. *mulus/mula*. See DU CANGE 960 s. v.; Theoph. 426, 24: ζῶον μουλικόν; and see (B) 54—57 *supra*.

(C) 65 ἵππάρια: horses/ponies = ἵπποι; see LSJ s. v. and cf. DAI 51,

202—203; 52, 1sq. Medieval Greek texts use a wide variety of technical or semi-technical terms to describe different types of horse, mule, pony or pack-animal. It is often difficult to tell which, if any, are used in a technical sense.

(i) σαγμάριον: cf. DU CANGE 1318 s. v.; Ed. Diocl. 11, 4—6; Comm. 250. This term appears to be applied to all kinds of animal — horses and mules, for example — and means simply “beast of burden/pack-animal”. See (C) 81, 138, 372sq.; Maurice, Strat. I 2, 73; 5, 19; 5, 20; 5, 22; XII B 6, 11; Theoph. 423, 22—23; Leo, Tact. VI 29; X 7; 12; XI 46 (often following Maurice, *Stratēgikon*); and note Suidas IV 575, 21: τοῦλδον: Ῥωμαῖστί τὰ σαγμάρια τὰ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν τῶν πολεμίων βαστάζοντα Note also *ibid.* I 318, 25; IV 434, 1; Anon. Vári 18, 19 (DENNIS 9, 8—9): σαγμάρια ἢ παριππαράτους contrasted with the ἵπποι of the troops.

(ii) σελλάριον = ἱππάριον with a *sella*, i. e. for riding rather than for baggage. See (C) 126, 394, 399, 548sq., 634—635. Note that such horses are clearly of superior quality — they receive a triple fodder ration as opposed to the double ration of the pack-animals: (C) 398—401.

(iii) παρίππιον: pack-horse, cf. (C) 333, 335, 344, 345, 372sq. The word is used interchangeably with ἱππάριον, for example (C) 402—403, 407, 583: τὰ . . . ἱππάρια τὰ σεσαγισμένα καὶ παρασυρόμενα Note that these are different from those at (C) 605: τὰ ἱππάρια τὰ ἐστρωμένα, which are classed with τὰ βασιλικά σελλάρια. Note also (C) 394, where ἱππάρια is used to describe animals listed also as παρίππια. The inferior position of animals described as *parippia*, whatever the technical weight of the term, is confirmed by the fact that they receive only a double fodder ration, in contrast to the riding-horses or *sellaria*, see (C) 399; and cf. (C) 548sq. See also Theoph. 414, 28 (Constantine V escapes on a *parippion*); De Vel. Bell. 197, 15—16; 227, 22—23; 216, 4—5 (DENNIS 8, 11; 16, 39; 12, 28; DAGRON-MIHĂESCU VIII 9; XVI 32; XII 22.

(iv) παρασυρτά: this term, and equivalents, is used to refer to “led” i. e. haltered horses/animals, either parade-animals, as in this text; or pack-animals. See (C) 111, 362—363, 392—393, 490—491; De Vel. Bell. 197, 13—14 (DENNIS 8, 10; DAGRON-MIHĂESCU VIII 8); Niceph. Praec. 5, 13; and cf. *ibid.* 13, 1; 14, 27—32. See DAGRON, Phocas 188 and notes.

(v) a variety of terms was also available for beasts of burden in addition to those listed above, including: μεσομουλάριον, βορδώνιον, μεσοβορδώνιον etc. Cf. JGR I 617; MM V 137; 143; VI 2; 20; 22; 27; 47 etc. Lavra I, no. 38, 32sq.; no. 48, 30sq. For *bordōnion*, see Theoph. 182, 29 (Lat. *burdo*: see DU CANGE 211 s. v.; LAMPE 304; Ed. Diocl. 11, 4a; Comm. 250; KRIARAS IV 177). Where these terms can be differentiated, *moularion* refers to the offspring of a male donkey and a mare; *bordōnion* refers to the offspring of a female donkey and a horse. Cf. Lat. *mulus*, *hinnus*, *ginnus*; Ed. Diocl. 7, 17. 19; 11, 4a; 14, 10; and Comm. 235—236. For sixth- and seventh-century usage in Egypt, see T. REEKMANS, A Sixth-Century Account of Hay (P. Lond. Inv. 653) (*Papyrologia Bruxellensia* 1). Bruxelles 1962, 47ff.

(C) 64—66 μωλάρια σ' ἀνά νομισμάτων ιε', ἵππάρια σ' ἀνά νομισμάτων ιβ', ὁμοῦ νομίσιματα ,ευκδ', γινόμενα χρυσοῦ λίτραι ος': i. e. $200 \times 15 + 200 \times 12 = 5424/72 = 76$ pounds of gold. In fact, the arithmetic of the text is somewhat inaccurate: the total amounts to 5400 *nomismata* (2 *hipparia* omitted?), which is 75 pounds of gold exactly.

For the costs of horses and mules, see, for example, OSTROGORSKY, Löhne und Preise 328ff.; HENDY, Studies 636; JONES, LRE 625—626; DAGRON, Phocas 185, n. 23. The system operated in the ninth and tenth centuries was not markedly different from that of the later Roman period. In the later period, the *logothetēs* of the herds received orders directly from the emperor, and then handed the animals over to the *komēs* of the stable and his officials; in the sixth century it was the *procuratores* of the imperial estates (subordinate to the *res privata*) and the *praepositi gregum* whose duty it was to levy the horses and then to deliver them to the officials of the *comes stabuli*. The “prices” represented in this text probably do not represent any sort of market value: fees for the levying may or may not be included in the sums named (fees taken by the officials responsible for the levying itself) and the sums paid by the state to its subordinate departments may be accordingly higher or lower than the actual value of the animals on the market. Horses and pack-animals were raised by at least two other methods: a “customary” levy on individuals and institutions (as here: see below; the same had also applied in the later Roman period and before, see JONES, LRE 626 and n. 37); and the compulsory purchase or requi-

sitioning of animals, often at artificially low prices, to the advantage of the state or the officials responsible, from private individuals, a requisition known as the *ἐκθεσις μονοπροσώπου* (see, for example, De Cer. 658, 7—8; Anon. Vári 52, 13—24 [DENNIS 31, 14]; Psellos, *Scripta minora* II 111—112; 84; 164; Psellos, in: SATHAS, MB V 363; Lavra I, nos. 33, 83; 38, 32; 48, 29—30; JGR I 616; 617; MM VI 2; 20; 22; 27; 47; MM V 137; 143; and Leo, Tact. XX 205 [1069B]. See AHRWEILER, *Recherches* 5 and n. 7; WEISS, *Beamte* 55, nn. 171—173, is mistaken in concluding that this was a general levy of animals). In addition, of course, the levy could be commuted, as occurred in the thema of the Peloponnese: see on (C) 104—105 *infra*. According to Leo's *Tactica*, the thematic authorities, while not actually providing the ordinary soldiers with horses, were expected to make sure that horse dealers and breeders and merchants were available, from whom soldiers could purchase remounts. In the present example, the horses and pack-animals were sold at a fixed price from the *mitata* to the *komēs* of the stable, presumably to compensate the *mitata* and for the restocking and purchase of new animals for stud.

(C) 67—68 Διὰ τῶν συνηθειῶν τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν βασιλικῶν στάβλων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ἐν τοῖς στάβλοις: this heading introduces the first list of the memorandum. For the officials in question, see BURY, *Administrative System* 113—114; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 338—339 and literature. The *synētheiai* represent the customary *sportulae* or prestations to the emperor on the occasion of an imperial expedition. See REISKE, *Comm.* 278; 317—318; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 88, n. 28. A large number of the animals required by the imperial baggage-train were provided by this means.

(C) 71 διὰ τῶν σαφραμέντων: cf. (C) 343: ὁ σαφραμεντάριος; (C) 386, 632: (οἱ) σαφραμεντάριοι. These officials were responsible with the *chartoullarios* of the *exō stabla* for shoeing and pasturing the animals, and generally for looking after them. See the passages listed above. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 339, suggests that there was only one *saphramentarios*, but there seem in fact to have been several. The *saphramentarios* who accompanied the expedition needed only two pack-horses and a mule ([C] 386), in contrast to the *chartoullarios*, who had five ([C] 385—386). The origins of the term are unclear. REISKE's derivation from *sagmatarioi* via *saumatarioi* is unconvincing

(Comm. 495—496). More likely is a hypothetical Latin **saframentum*, derived perhaps from *frumentum*. Cf. the *saccarii* and *frumentarii*, unloaders of corn at Rome and Constantinople (JONES, LRE 698 and nn.; and O. FIEBIGER, Art. *Frumentarii*. *RE* VII [1912] 122—125; DAREMBERG—SAGLIO II/2, 1348 s. v. *frumentarii*). *Saphramentarios* may well be the result of a copulative compound **saccofrumentarius* → **safrumentarius* → *saphramentarios*; in which case the duties of such officers will have been connected with the pasturing and provisioning of livestock. The description of their duties in this text seems to support such a definition.

(C) 72—73 ὁμοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων νομίσματα τεβ', γινόμενα λίτραι δ', νομίσματα κς': i. e. 12 *mōlaria* at 15 *nomismata* + 11 *hipparia* at 12 *nomismata* = 312 *nomismata* (not 322), that is, 4 pounds, 24 *nomismata*. The calculations have clearly been corrupted in copying: the first total (322 *nomismata*) is wrong; but so is the second total, even on the basis of the first mistake, since 4 pounds 26 *nomismata* = 314 *nomismata*. See REISKE, Comm. 496, and his attempt to rationalise the figures. Simple copyist's error seems the most probable explanation. But see on (C) 73—74 *infra*.

(C) 73—74 ὁμοῦ τὸ πᾶν λίτραι π', νομίσματα κς': i. e. 80 pounds, 26 *nomismata* (that is, 76 pounds carried forward from [C] 64—66 *supra*, + 4 pounds 26 *nomismata* according to the incorrect calculation above; which totals, correctly, 80 pounds and 26 *nomismata*). In fact, the actual total based on the figures given in the text amounts to 75 pounds, + 4 pounds and 24 *nomismata*, = 79 pounds, 24 *nomismata*. It is impossible to ascertain whether the copyist intervened to adjust the totals in line with the incorrect figures; or whether the text was already corrupt from the start, and was copied accurately, including the errors.

(C) 78 ψάβν: cf. LSJ s. v. ἡ ψάβ; and Malalas I 457, 15: back or flanks; Suidas IV 850, 25; Maurice, *Strat.* I 2, 94 (Leo, *Tact.* VI 22).

(C) 78—79: cf. (C) 403, 407—410 *infra*. τῆς καπούλας: Lat. *scapula*; βουῶλλαν: Lat. *bulla* (see DÖLGER—KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Urkundenlehre* s. v.; and [C] 107, 112; Th. Cont. 440, 1: βουλλῶ and σφραγιζῶ are clearly equivalents).

(C) 79—80 ἔτι δὲ . . . βούλλωσις: this assumes a further campaign the next year; unless Constantine or the document from which he took his information has mistakenly included material from an actual description of a series of campaign preparations; or has inadequately edited or prepared for incorporation such material.

(C) 80—81 λαβιδουῦνται . . . εὐνοῦχα: cf. REISKE, Comm. 497; the male ponies were castrated presumably on two counts: to reduce the risk of theft (for breeding); and to reduce the potential difficulties with female animals en route.

(C) 82—84 καὶ φέρει . . . αὐτῶν: the *logothetēs* of the herds had to provide the mules from the *mitata* with their harnesses and equipment. *σεσαγματωμένα* can hardly mean “loaded up” at this stage, but refers rather to the harness — they are “fully harnessed”, i. e. with their *sagmata* or pack-saddles: see (C) 122 and (C) 341.

(C) 83 ἐνδύματα . . . κέντουκλα: cf. Lat. *centunculus*; DU CANGE 634 s. v. κέντουκλα; SOPHOCLES s. v. κεντήκλα; see Maurice, Strat. I 2, 37; I 2, 50; XI 2, 29; Niceph., Praec. 1, 23; 11, 16; Leo, Tact. V 4; VI 8; 13; and see on (C) 173 infra. Note Ed. Diocl. 7, 52. 53; and Comm. 239; and A. HUG, Art. Stickerei. *RE* III/2 A (1929) 2490—2495; and Lexikographie, STEINER 155.

(C) 83 στρατοῦρα: cf. (C) 118; mod. Cypriot ὁ στρατουῤῃς; Lat. *stratum* (*sterno*), med. Lat. *stratura* (cf. LATHAM, MLW s. v.); DU CANGE 1464 s. v. στρατούρια.

(C) 83 μετὰ σωκαρίων φορτωμάτων: lasso; cf. (C) 135; cf. Malalas 619, σοκκεύω/-ῖζω; DU CANGE 1512 s. v. Cf. Maurice, Strat. I 2, 42 (Leo, Tact. V 4; VI 10); DU CANGE 837: λωρόσοκκον.

(C) 83—84 κεκαλιγωμένα (καλιγῶ): Lat. *caliga/caligatus*. Cf. (C) 400: τὰ καλιγώματα; (C) 632: ἐκαλίγουν; cf. καλλιγώνειν, DU CANGE 550: to shoe horses; to wrap with bindings/leggings.

(C) 84 σελιναῖα: see (C) 132; they were made of iron or bronze, and were crescent or half-moon in shape. See DU CANGE 1348; SOPHOCLES 983; and cf. Leo, Tact. V 4: πέδιλα σεληναῖα σιδηρᾶ μετὰ καρφίων αὐτῶν.

(C) 84 τῶν καπιστρίων: see (C) 128, 400. Lat. *capistrum*, cf. mod. Greek τὸ καπίστρι. See on (C) 400 below; and KRIARAS III 342; ZILLIACUS, Lehnwort 336; STEPHANUS 947; DU CANGE 586 s. v.; note Ed. Diocl. 10, 4. 7; Comm. 248.

(C) 86—89: see (A) 6sq. above.

(C) 90 ὁ δρουγγάριος τοῦ πλοῦμου: see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 340 and literature; AHRWEILER, Mer, passim; this officer was commander of the imperial fleet based at Constantinople. Both the forms πλώϊμος/-ον and πλόϊμος/-ον are regularly found. Cf. DAI 29, 98.100; 42, 31; 46, 50. 54; 51 passim; and BURY, Administrative System 108, for example.

(C) 91 ὁ ἐξκούβιτος; ὁ ἱκανάτος: see HALDON, Praetorians 290ff.; 295ff. They were commanders of two of the *tagmata* at Constantinople.

(C) 91 ὁ νούμερος καὶ ὁ τεχιώτης: see HALDON, Praetorians 256ff. These officers commanded the units of the Walls and the *Noumera*, based in or around the imperial palace.

(C) 92 ὁ δομέστικος τῶν ὀπτιμάτων: see HALDON, Praetorians 205—227: commander of the logistical support and transport corps of *Optimatoi* who served the *tagmata* and the imperial column. They were quartered in the Anatolian district directly opposite the capital.

(C) 92 ὁμοῦ νη': the named *stratēgoi* provide 15 mules; the *stratēgos* of Seleukeia and the tagmatic officers provide a further 12; making a total of 27. Out of the total of 58, therefore, 31 mules are provided by the remaining *stratēgoi* of East and West, who provide 2 mules each. This suggests that 15 (or possibly 16) *themata* are unnamed. But this can be generally true only for the reign of Basil I, since there are more than 15 or 16 *themata* other than those named here during the reigns of Leo VI and Constantine VII. *Themata* which had been created and which might otherwise be expected to figure would be: Mesopotamia (c. 899—901/911); Sebasteia (c. 911); Lykandos (908—916); Leontokōmē/Tephrikē (908—911; *thema* 934—944); Nikopolis (before 901); Strymōn (c. 899); Samos (by 899); for Basil I's time, the *themata* which are unnamed may have included: Kappadokia, Charsianon, Kolōneia, Paphlagonia, Thrace,

Macedonia, Chaldia, the Kibyrrhaiōtai, Aigaion Pelagos; and the more distant Peloponnēsos, Hellas, Langobardia, Kephallēnia, Thessalonikē, Dyrrachion and Cherson; that is, 9 plus 7 = 16. But this does not really help us to date this section of the document more closely: in the first place, many of the *themata* were too far removed to have provided assistance of this sort directly; in the second place, *themata* created after Basil I's time may have contributed where they were geographically placed to do so; if we take the expression "the remaining *stratēgoi* of East and West" literally, of course, then we are left with the figure of 15 or 16 *themata* not named over the whole empire, which would place the list in Basil's reign. But this seems unlikely, given the points raised above. Intervention by Constantine in an effort to update his information must also be borne in mind. For the list of *themata* and literature, see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 348—353.

(C) 93 Διὰ τῶν ὀφφικιαλίων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν: Lat. *officialis*, member of an *officium*. In the ninth century, the term referred specifically to the higher officers or functionaries in the palatine *sekreta* and the *tagmata*: see, for example, Klet. Phil. 107, 3; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 106, n. 61; 288.

(C) 94 ὁ ὑπαρχος: (also ἑπαρχος) the Prefect (Eparch) of the City. See on (B) 59—62 above.

(C) 94 ὁ γενικός: the γενικός λογοθέτης, see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 313 with literature; HENDY, Studies 410—414; IDEM, Administrative Basis 134f.

(C) 95 ὁ κωαίστωρ: the late Roman *quaestor sacri palatii*, a judicial official presiding over a tribunal dealing with appeals from the City and provinces. He had also certain police functions in the City, in particular over visiting provincials. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 321 and literature for a survey of his functions.

(C) 95 ὁ τοῦ σακελλίου: the *chartoullarios* or *praispositos* in charge of the imperial (public) treasury; previously a subordinate of the *sakellarios*. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 314—315 for literature.

(C) 95 ὁ τοῦ βεστιαρίου: the *chartoullarios* of the public *vestiarion*, originally the *sacrum vestiarium*, a sub-department of the *comitiva*

sacrarium largitionum, see HENDY, Studies 412 and n.175. The *vestiarion* was a special warehouse and store for naval and military equipment and for precious metals and coin — it had on its staff the ἄρχων τῆς χαραγῆς, who seems to have been responsible for the Constantinopolitan mint. See Klet. Phil. 121, 20 and (C) 794 infra; and BURY, Administrative System 96—97; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 316 and literature. This public *vestiarion* is not to be confused with the imperial private *vestiarion*, under the supervision of the *prōtōvestiarios*. See on (B) 48 supra.

(C) 96 οἱ δύο κουράτορες: that is, the *meγas kouratōr*, in charge of imperial estates in the provinces (OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 318) and the *kouratōr tōn Magganōn*, established by Basil I, with similar functions (OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance, loc. cit.). Their estates provided supplies for the imperial household on such undertakings as these, as well as in Constantinople. See (C) 145.

(C) 96 ὁ κτημάτινος: difficult to identify. BURY, Administrative System 100—103, followed by OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 318, n.180, regarded him as the equivalent of the κουράτορες τῶν κτημάτων under the two *kouratores* already referred to.

(C) 96—97 οἱ δύο πρωτονοτάριοι: the two *prōtonotarioi* of the *kouratores* at (C) 96 above. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 318 (mistakenly listed as more than one for each *kouratoreia*) and Klet. Phil. 123, 12.

(C) 97 ὁ ζυγοστάτης: an official of the *sakellion*, responsible, it is usually assumed, for coin. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 315; but also HENDY, Studies 427.

(C) 98: for the *eidikos*, see on (B) 104 above.

(C) 98 ὁ παραθαλασσίτης: an official with supervisory authority over merchant marine activity in the ports of Constantinople; he belonged to the department of the Prefect of the City. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 321; he had also certain judicial responsibilities in this connection.

(C) 98 ὁ βάρβαρος: an official in charge of what had been the late Roman *scrinium barbarorum*, now attached to the *sekretion* of the *Dromos* (originally part of the establishment of the *magister offi-*

ciorum). See BURY, Administrative System 93; GUILLAND, Logothètes 36—37; mistakenly identified by REISKE, Comm. 860, followed by ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 327, n. 237, as the head of the *ethnikoi* in the *Hetaireia*. But see P. KARLIN-HAYTER, L'Hétériarque. *JÖB* 23 (1974) 101—143; AHRWEILER, Recherches 27.

(C) 99 ὁ σύμπονος: aide to the City Eparch, with judicial authority over commercial affairs. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 320.

(C) 99 ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ πραιτωρίου: in charge of the civic militia under the Eparch's authority, and of the urban prison(s) under the Eparch. He may also have had a limited jurisdiction within the City. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 320.

(C) 99—100 τὸ σέκρετον τοῦ γενικοῦ: the whole staff of the general *logothesion* were jointly to provide 3 mules. For the *sekreton*, see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 313—314 and literature.

(C) 100 τὸ σέκρετον τοῦ σακελλίου: the same applied to the staff of the *sakellion* as to that of the *genikon*: see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 315, for literature.

(C) 100—101 τὸ σέκρετον τοῦ βεστιαρίου: for this bureau, see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 316.

(C) 101 ὁμοῦ μωλάρια κε': 25 mules; in fact, the total reaches only 24; possibly the Eparch should provide two; or the *symponos* and *logothetēs* of the *praitōrion* should provide one each ([C] 99).

(C) 101—102 ὁμοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων μωλαρίων ξενάλια πγ': that is, those from the officials listed at (C) 94—101, together with those of the *stratēgoi* listed at (C) 86—92: $58 + 25 = 83$ (or 82!).

(C) 102 ξενάλια: gifts or provisions in the form of (customary) gifts. See DAI 7, 9; 43, 40. 46; and (C) 353, 537, 597, 598. There appears to be a difference assumed between those animals rendered as *synētheiai* and those offered as *xenalia*.

(C) 104—105 μωλάρια νβ' τῶν πεντηκονταδύ ἀρχιεπισκόπων: the *diatyposis* attributed to Nikolaos I and dated to c. 901—907 (during Nikolaos' first patriarchate: cf. GRUMEL, Regestes 598; BECK, Kirche 151) lists 51 archbishoprics and 51 metropolitanates (omitting

the archbishop of Alania, created in 901—902), although the surviving tradition may not represent the original complete list. Cf. DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae* 56ff.; 70—74; 78. By the 930s, in contrast, there were a number of new archbishoprics and metropolitanates (DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae* 83ff.; BECK, *Kirche* 151). The reference to 52 archbishops and 52 metropolitans would therefore suggest a date earlier than the time at which Constantine edited and compiled his material. But the unreliability of the *Notitiae* and the lack of exact evidence for the creation of new metropolitanates in the later ninth century makes a more specific date impossible. At least, the reference here appears to confirm Constantine's use of material from the time of Basil I or Leo VI (the references to the various *stratēgoi* at [C] 86sq. may be from a source or sources of similar date). It might suggest that there were already 51 or 52 metropolitanates and archbishoprics (including that of Illyricum, for example) before Leo VI succeeded in 886 (see DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae* 71—74), but probably after the Council of 879 (DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae* 72ff.).

It was quite usual for the Church to provide animals for the army and for imperial expeditions. See DAI 52 and Comm. 204—205. The levy, or ἀπαίτησις in the *De administrando imperio* was double the usual figure, however, presumably (as JENKINS—MORAVCSIK, DAI, Comm., loc. cit., suggest), because the military personnel had themselves opted out of military service. For monastic exemptions from providing horses and mules, although from a slightly later period, see JGR I 616 (a. 1044); Lavra I, nos. 33, 83 (a. 1060); 38, 32; 48, 30; MM VI 2; 20; 22; 27; 47 etc. These were not cavalry mounts, however, but pack-animals — the ἰππάρια of DAI 52 are equivalent to the μωλάρια of (C) 104.

(C) 105—106 τὰ ρδ' σεσαγματωμένα ... καὶ κεκαλιγωμένα: in other words, they should be furnished already equipped with pack-saddles etc. This seems to have been a usual demand: cf. DAI 51, 203—204: ἰππάρια χίλια ἐστρωμένα καὶ χαλινωμένα.

(C) 108 προμοσέλλα: the imperial baggage-train: cf. (C) 313. 332. 404. 409—410, 584; and Theoph. 473, 27; V. Philareti 113, 8—9: ἵπποι καὶ ἡμίονοι τῆς προμοσέλας αὐτοῦ ...; from Lat. *promo* (distribute) + *sella* (?). Cf. DU CANGE 1245 s. v.

(C) 108—109 ὁμοῦ τὸ πᾶν . . . μολάρια φρε': a total of 585 *mōlaria* is given for the beasts provided as *xenalia*, i. e. the *xenalia* listed at (C) 86—92 (58); those listed at (C) 94—102 (25); the 104 of the archbishops and metropolitans; the 200 *mōlaria* and 200 *hipparia* from the *mitata* = a grand total of 585. It should, in fact, be 587; but 585 may well be the correct total, if the figure at (C) 101 is incorrect (according to the list given there should be only 24, not 25, animals); and if the figure of 58 at (C) 92 is an error for 57.

(C) 108 ἀμφοτέροι: = πάντες; see REISKE, Comm. 500—501.

(C) 110 διὰ τῶν εὐαγῶν μοναστηρίων · ἱπάρια ρ': for these monasteries, and those at DAI 52, 8—10, see E. HERMAN, Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine. OCP 6 (1940) 293—375, see 348ff.

(C) 111—113 τὰ παρασυρόμενα . . . κελεύει: these animals are also classed as *xenalia*; see on (C) 101—102 supra. They were drawn up in processional files in front of the emperor, and were available to be granted as gifts to whomsoever the emperor ordered. See on (B) 54—57, (C) 405—407; and cf. (B) 108—109, (C) 125sq., 490—491; note also on (C) 583—586; and (C) 605.

For the *parasyromena* see on (C) 65 (iv) supra; and cf. συρτά, παρασυρτά, spare mounts, led pack-animals. See (C) 390—391; and Niceph., Praec. 5, 13; 13, 1; 14, 27—31; Dig. Akr. 152, 167; and cf. Lat. *ad dextram*/ἀδέστρατον (Maurice, Strat. I 2, 96; V 2, 1—9 etc. and Leo, Tact. X 7; 12). By the tenth century, the original sense of the latter term had been forgotten as Leo, Tact. X 12 (confusion of *adestrata* with *sagmaria*) demonstrates.

(C) 113 ἔξοδον: (ἐξοδιάζω/ἐξοδάω) an outgoing or payment. Cf. Kekau-
menos 49, 16 (LITAVRIN 216, 15): here used in the sense of a grant
or gift. Cf. De Cer. 658, 21; 671, 18—19; 677, 15; and (C) 140 etc.

(C) 114—115 ὁμοίως δὲ . . . φοσσάτου: these *xenalia* must be different from those already enumerated, consisting presumably of animals given as gifts to the emperor en route. See on (C) 126—127 infra.

(C) 116 εἰς ἔξοδον: for expenses (for equipping the pack-animals). The *eidikon* was the source of funds for special expenditure: see on (B) 104; and cf. (C) 140 infra.

(C) 117—118 τὸ κελλάριον τὸ βασιλικόν: the storehouse attached to the imperial stables at Constantinople, under the ἀποθέτης τοῦ κελλαρίου. See on (B) 53; and cf. (C) 381—382, 397.

(C) 118 καβαλλοκίλια: Lat. *caballum* + *cilicium*, cf. DU CANGE 654; cf. also med. Lat. *cilicium*, horse-blanket; and De Cer. 614, 16; 675, 11; and (C) 176. Cf. Ed. Diocl. 8, 11; Comm. 244f. and V. Andreae Sali 660C—D.

(C) 118—119 ἀπὸ Λυδίας ἐκ τῆς κουρατορείας τῶν Τρυχίνων: probably an imperial estate producing goat's wool on a large scale for state/imperial use; it would have been under the authority of either the *megas kouratōr* or the *kouratōr tōn Magganōn*, and part of the emperor's household revenue; or under the ἐπι τῆς κουρατορείας, in the *sekretion* of the general logothete (Klet. Phil. 113, 34; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 313). See on (C) 96 supra. This may also have been connected with the late Roman weaving establishments in Anatolia — see JONES, LRE 836 — in which case it will have come originally under the *comes sacrarum largitionum*. For a *mitaton* in Lydia, see V. Ioannicii 368A; HALDON, Praetorians, n. 988.

(C) 119—120 σαγματοπασμαγάδια: σάγμα + πασμαγάδιον, cf. Reiske, Comm. 501—503, Turk. *başmak*; cf. DU CANGE 1125 s. v. παζμάκζης, an equivalent for σάγματα + καλιγώματα, horse-shoes or leggings: cf. CLAUSON 382—383; Tarama Sözlüğü I. Ankara 1963, 448f.: the word is attested in Turkish from the thirteenth century, and seems originally to have designated a low or flat shoe for human wear. Its appearance here may suggest a Chazar or possibly Magyar origin. Here it may also apply to the rest of the harness of the animals as well. Cf., for example, (C) 82—84, 104—105; and also (C) 399—401: ὁ δὲ ἐπείκτης παρίσταται εἰς τὰς ταγὰς . . . καὶ εἰς τὰ καλιγώματα καὶ εἰς τὰ καπίστρια καὶ . . . σαγίσματα; note also (C) 122—123 and (C) 631—633.

(C) 119—121: the figures here are accurate: 200 sets from the *mitata*; 104 from the archbishops and metropolitans; there then remain a further 281 sets to be found — 200 for the animals from the *mitata* not yet provided for; plus 83 (according to the totals given, but in fact only 81) from the *stratēgoi* and *ophphikialioi* — see on (C) 108—109 supra.

(C) 121—123 καὶ πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν . . . σπα': here, the number of packs to be provided is correctly reckoned at 281, see above. Note that στρατοῦραι and σαγίσματα are needed, to be procured and made up, confirming that *sagamatopasmagadion* = *sagma* + (*pasmagadion* = *stratourai* + *kapistria* + *kaligōmata*) other items of necessary equipment.

(C) 124 ῥασικὰ ἀμάλια: cf. Maurice, *Strat.* I 2, 48: ῥάσσα, rough material; see LAMPE s. v. ῥασόν; Lat. *rasus*, mod. Greek ῥασόν, rag(s) = cassock; see also Sym. Mag. 720, 21; and De Cer. 674, 7: ὑπὲρ ἀγορᾶς τῶν πανίων τῶν ῥασιακῶν; 674, 11: πανίων ῥασικῶν, cloth for sail-making; 675, 7. The term refers therefore to any rough or rough-woven cloth; see KAHANE, *Abendland und Byzanz* 385.

(C) 124 ἀμάλια: ἄμαλλος, without nap or hair, cf. LAMPE s. v.; REISKE, *Comm.* 503; DU CANGE 56; cf. Th. Cont. 318, 16: ἀμάλια λινὰ ψιλὰ διακόσια (and n. b. 318, 15: λινομαλοτάρια). See GEORGACAS, *Flax and Linen* 255. These are therefore rough-woven lengths of napless material to be made up into finished items.

(C) 124 ἀληθινά: true or real purple. See on (B) 108—109 above; and ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* VI 281; *DAI* *Comm.* 14; 15 (on 6, 9).

(C) 124 σαγίσματα καὶ βορκάδια: *sagismata* are not the same as *sagmata*, see on (B) 50 supra; from this context both *sagismata* and *borkadia* seem to be types of covering — *sagisma* refers probably to a saddle-blanket or saddle-cloth. *βορκάδια* seem to be ceremonial head-pieces for the horses: REISKE, *Comm.* 491, derives the term from the Arab. *burqu^c/burqa^cat-i*; note, however, that this is a four-radical noun, which may suggest a non-Arabic origin. See COWAN 54 (veil/head-cover). But a Latin origin is not to be excluded: from *broco/broccatus*, cf. *brocca*, needle; i. e. brocaded or embroidered (cf. DU CANGE 780; NIERMEYER 106; MAIGNE D'ARNIS 358). These are therefore brocaded head-covers of some sort for ceremonial/proces-sional wear: see (C) 491. Finally, note that fodder could be carried beneath the *sagismata*, confirming their identity as blankets or covers: (C) 548—553.

(C) 125—126 τὰ μὲν ρ' . . . βασιλέως: that is, those provided by the monasteries, not branded (see [C] 111sq.) equipped as above; note

that they are σεσαγισμένα as opposed to σαγματωμένα, i. e. fitted out with blankets, not with pack-saddles: (C) 583.

(C) 126—127 τὰ δὲ λ' . . . ἵππαρίων: 30 imperial "saddle-horses", i. e. for riding, accompanied the expedition, taken from the imperial stables in Constantinople: see (B) 110; and cf. (C) 347, 392sq., 605—606. They are of superior quality to the ordinary pack-animals — see (C) 398—399 and on (C) 65 supra, see (ii).

(C) 127 καὶ τάγιστρα: see DU CANGE 1523; REISKE, Comm. 504; and Theoph. 319, 9; and (C) 396sq., 550 (cf. De Vel. Bell. 194, 16 [DENNIS 6, 8; DAGRON-MIHĂESCU VI 5]). These are nose-bags or fodder-containers. On ταγαί, see DU CANGE 1522; and see DAGRON, Phocas 188, n. 30.

(C) 128—129 βυρσάρια . . . ρπ': hides, strips of hide/leather: cf. Suidas II 577, 19; DAI 53, 531; Niceph., Praec. 11, 20; Ep. Bibl. XIV 1—2; DU CANGE 232 s. v.; and De Cer. 659, 13; also Ed. Diocl. 8.

(C) 129 ἐξακάνθηλα: see REISKE, Comm. 505—506; Theoph. 423, 23: Lat. *clitella*, anc. Greek κανθήλια, panniers/baskets of pack-saddles. See the discussion of I. ROCHOW, Beiträge der Chronik des Theophanes zum mittelgriechischen Wortschatz. *Klio* 69 (1987) 567—572, see 571f.

(C) 129 λόγω κεδραίας: cf. Ep. Bibl. XIII 1: κεδρίαν; De Cer. 673, 4: κεδρέα μαγαρικά (cf. 677, 11); and mod. Greek ἡ κεδρία, tar. Note also DU CANGE, App. 206 s. v., a type of resin-based potion or salve. Here it refers probably to cedar-oil or resin for applying to wounds or to hooves of animals. Cf. Ed. Diocl. 36, 35—36 and Comm. 283.

(C) 129 ἀσκία: cf. anc. Greek ὁ ἀσκός.

(C) 129—130 λόγω τῶν περιοδίων τῶν ἀλόγων: medical treatment. Cf. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *ΕΕΒΣ* 19 (1949) 88 and n. 1; note that Constantine himself showed considerable interest in the subject of veterinary medicine, and supervised the collection of a *corpus hippiatricorum graecorum*. A wide range of ancient texts were available in the tenth century, and Byzantine veterinary theory (and to some extent practice) must have been based to a large extent on Hellenistic and classical antecedents. See, for a summary and further literature

SCARBOROUGH, Roman Medicine 171—173; CMH IV/2, 285; 292, with literature *ibid.* 460; A.-M. DOYEN-HIGUET, The Hippiatrica and Byzantine Veterinary Medicine. *DOP* 38 (1984) 111—120; and HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* II 306.

(C) 130 ἀξινορύγια: cf. Maurice, *Strat.* XII B 6, 5; De Cer. 670, 16; 671, 4; *Syll. Tact.* XXXVIII 12; Leo, *Tact.* VI 27 and cf. V 6: a widebladed pick-axe.

(C) 130 πλατυλίσκια: a spade or mattock.

(C) 130 πτυάρια στιβαρά: cf. Maurice, *Strat.* XII B 6, 5 and De Cer. 670, 18.

(C) 130—131 διὰ τοὺς πότζους: cf. Lat. *putea*, Ital. *pozza*, hole or puddle, here almost certainly in the sense of a well or watering hole. All the items listed at (C) 127—131 come from the storehouse of the imperial stables in Constantinople, and may be assumed to have to do with the care of the animals. For other lists of tools, see De Cer. 670, 16—671, 5; and for a survey of Byzantine agricultural tools, in which many of the items figured in these lists occur, see A. A. M. BRYER, Byzantine Agricultural Implements: the Evidence of Medieval Illustrations of Hesiod's Works and Days. *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 81 (1986) 45—80.

(C) 131—132 ἐκ δὲ . . . ν' λίτρας: the state *vestiarion* as opposed to the οἰκειακὸν βασιλικὸν βεστιάριον, see on (B) 48 and (C) 95 above. On the various functions of this department in providing military and other equipment and supplies, see HALDON, Praetorians 318—323 and notes.

(C) 132 σελιναίων: see on (C) 84; although 50 *litrai* of iron does not seem sufficient for both horse-shoes (if that is what *selinaiai* are) as well as bits.

(C) 132 μασσήματα ἐλαφρά: cf. Dig. Akr. 96, 379. The number mentioned, 150, would confirm that there should be one for each animal (see the 150 animals mentioned at [C] 125—127).

(C) 133 ῥέτινα: Lat. *retina/retinaculum*, rein, halter; cf. DU CANGE 1290 s. v.

(C) 133 καπιτζάλια: cf. Lat. *capitalis*, Ital. *cavezza*: bridle/headpiece; cf. later Lat. *capistellum*; Ed. Diocl. 10, 6: *capistrum*, and Comm. 248.

(C) 133—134 τῆς κανάβεως: cf. Ep. Bibl. XIII 1; De Cer. 673, 5; 677, 9; and cf. ΓΟΙΤΕΙΝ, Med. Soc. I 105—106 and references for rope-makers.

(C) 135 σωκάρια: see on (C) 83 supra.

(C) 136: this heading begins the list of requirements for each element of the imperial household service.

(C) 137—139 ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης . . . τραπέζης: on these officials and the administration of the household service, see on (B) 117 supra. It is probable that the οἰκειακὸς βασιλικὸς κελλάριος listed here is not to be identified with the ἀποθέτης τοῦ κελλαρίου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στάβλου. The latter is always explicitly named as such, except when grouped with other officials of the stable (when a more specific title would be superfluous), see (C) 397. He is responsible for the equipment and so forth of the animals and for their provisioning, along with other officers of the stables; but he has no connection at all with the imperial table, which is what this passage is concerned with. Furthermore, the *kellarios* in this passage is described as *oikeiakos*, i. e. personal, like the οἰκειακὸς βασιλικὸς πρωτοβεστιάριος. I suggest that this *kellarios* is in fact the *πιγκέρνης*, or one of his subordinates, known also as the ἀποθηκάριος (see [C] 141—142), responsible for the supply of imperial wine, and with an imperial οἰνοχόος under his authority — see (C) 602; and see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕΣ, Préséance 306 and 339, who does not distinguish between the two, however. Possibly the title listed here was dropped and replaced by that of *πιγκέρνης* under Leo VI. Note that this *kellarios* is grouped with ὁ δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας and the ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης for the whole section (to [C] 161). See (C) 153, 160; as is the οἰνοχόος at (C) 602. Cf. GUILLAND, Institutions I 242f.

(C) 140 λογάριον: a cash sum, cf. λογαριάζω; with the sense of an estimate submitted, approved by the *eidikon*. See DU CANGE 818—819 s. v.; HENDY, Studies 253; 268; 316; DAI 51, 203.

(C) 140—141 *λόγω ἀρτυσίας*: i. e. for condiments and seasoning; cf. mod. Greek *ἀρτυμα*; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *EEBΣ* 17 (1941) 17 and n. 1. The whole of this text contains here and in a number of other places a wealth of information on the dietary tradition of the east Mediterranean area at this time, specifically related, of course, to that of the wealthy social élite. See for a general survey ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *EEBΣ* 17 (1941) 3—112; ANDRÉ, *L'Alimentation*; E. KISLINGER, *Ernährung. Byzantisches Reich. Lexikon des Mittelalters* 3 (1986) 2171—2174; E. JEANSELME—L. OECONOMOS, *Aliments et recettes culinaires des Byzantins*, in: *Actes du III^e Congrès de l'Art de Guérir* (London 1922). Antwerp 1923, 155—168; E. JEANSELME—L. OECONOMOS, *La règle du réfectoire du monastère de Saint Nicolas de Casole près d'Otrante* (1160). Traduction, notes et commentaires. *Bull. de la Société française de l'Histoire de la Médecine* (1922). For the text, see DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie* I 818—823, esp. c. 25; also ed. I. COZZA-LUZI, in: *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* 10/2 (1905) 155—166. Apart from the material assembled by ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* V, and first published in *EEBΣ* 17 (1941), relatively little has been written in detail about Byzantine diet and nutrition, although there is a considerable body of material available. For other lists of foods and wines, for example, see *Prod.* II 38 ff.; III *passim* (note also the translation and commentary to *Prod.* III by E. JEANSELME—L. OECONOMOS, *La satire contre les higoumènes. Byz* 1 [1924] 317—339); *Pantokratōr Typikon* 424 ff.; EUSTRATIADÈS, *Typikon of St. Mamas* 274—277; GAUTIER, *Typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis* 39—43. Many other monastic *typika* cast valuable light on the subject. For an analysis, see esp. VOLK, *Gesundheitswesen*, *passim*. For some general remarks, see HENDY, *Studies* 39 ff.; and especially for the earlier period E. PATLAGEAN, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4^e—7^e siècles*. Paris 1977, 36—53, with sources and further literature; E. KISLINGER, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung in frühbyzantinischer Zeit*. (Diss.) Vienna 1982, 66—130; KODER—WEBER, *Liutprand* 84 ff.; T. KOLIAS, *Essgewohnheiten und Verpflegung im byzantinischen Heer*, in: *Βυζάντιος. Festschrift für H. HUNGER zum 70. Geburtstag*. Vienna 1984, 193—202. For a detailed comparative analysis of eastern and western medieval diets, see M. DEMBIŃSKA, *Diet: a Comparison of Food Consumption between some Eastern and Western Monasteries in the 4th—12th Centuries. Byz* 55 (1985) 431—462.

(C) 141 οἰνάριν δεσποτικόν . . . ζυγάς ι': i. e. imperial wine and wine for the *magistroi* and *patrikioi* as well: 48 measures for imperial consumption, 100 for the *magistroi*. For the ζυγοφλάσκια, i. e. sets of paired flasks, see ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 108; *EEBS* 19 (1949) 101; and on wine in general see ANDRÉ, L'Alimentation 162—174. Note also Suidas IV 280, 25; and KODER-WEBER, Liutprand 76ff.

(C) 143 σκορτζίδια: Lat. *scorteus*, of leather, cf. *scorteum/scortidium*: leather bottles or containers; cf. Ed. Diocl. 10, 2. 16 and Comm. 248; 249.

(C) 144 φακῆν: lentils; cf. Ed. Diocl. 1, 11; Comm. 215; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *EEBS* 17 (1941) 72—73. For the two *kouratorikia* see on (C) 96, 118—119. Note that the πάλαι suggests that these estates no longer supplied these items — again suggesting that Constantine is here using documents of his grandfather Basil's time.

(C) 146 λαρδίν: Lat. *laridus*, anc. Greek ἀλιστόν, cf. Ed. Diocl. 4, 7 and Comm. 229; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *EEBS* 17 (1941) 37.

(C) 146 ἀπόκτιν: salted meat: see ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *EEBS* 17 (1941) 38—39; IDEM, *EEBS* 19 (1949) 100; ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ III 149 s. v.; cf. mod. Cypriot ἀπόκτιν (see PHARMAKIDÈS 7).

(C) 146 σφακτά: livestock for slaughter — the meat could not be transported already butchered, of course. Whether it was lamb or pork or goat is uncertain. Cf. DU CANGE 1496 s. v.; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *EEBS* 17 (1941) 22—23; see also (C) 599, where *sphakton* seems to be equivalent to ἀγελάδιον, or cow; and the Will of Kalē Pakourianē, who leaves two *sphakta* each to her servants (cited by HENDY, *Studies* 210).

(C) 146—147 πρόβατα ὑπαρνα, ἀγελάδια ὑπόμοσχα: presumably for the milk of the adult animals, as well as the meat of the lambs and calves.

(C) 147 οἶνον ἐγχώριον: in contrast to the οἰνάριν δεσποτικόν at (C) 141.

(C) 147 οἱ πρωτονοτάριοι: see on (B) 103 above. These officers were responsible for the provisioning of troops passing through their district. See HALDON, Praetorians 314—316; 585—588 and literature.

(C) 147—148 βερζίτικον δὲ καὶ νεῦρον: for the former, see MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica* II 89; DAI, *Comm.* 156 and literature; GEORGACAS, *Ichthyological Terms* 122—129: a Bulgarian word for a type of salted fish, probably sturgeon, from the Maiotis region. Cf. *Prod.* III 180; Tzetzēs, *Hist.* 466, 85. — νεῦρον: according to KOUKOULÈS, *ΕΕΒΣ* 17 (1941) 40 and notes, this is a type of boiled or dried meat or sausage, possibly also tripe — cf. DU CANGE 993 — sinew: νευρικόν. But the word seems in fact to refer to a type of sea-food, possibly squid, and occurs in other lists with shell-fish etc. See, for example *Pantokratōr Typikon* 476: ἐξ ὄστρείων καὶ μυδίων καὶ νεύρων; *Prod.* III 277—278: μετὰ ὄστρειδομυδίτσια καὶ μετὰ νεύρων (Ms. H); and *Ep. Bibl.* XIII 1: κρέας, ἰχθύας τεταριχευμένας, νεῦρον . . . Whereas in a different context the term clearly was used of dried meat or boiled leather (see, for example, Niceph., *Praec.* 11, 17; Leo, *Tact.* XIX 13 etc.) it clearly refers here and in the examples quoted to a type of sea-food.

(C) 149 ἀρίθμια: an unidentified type of fresh-water fish (since listed together with carp), perhaps a colloquialism for either minnows, a small fish of the carp family, which teem in great numbers after hatching (*Phloxinus phloxinus*) (like carp, they were also farmed in medieval times. See G. STERBA, *Freshwater Fishes of the World*. London 1962, 246); or eels (*Anguilla anguilla*), which might also merit this description and were a Byzantine delicacy. For some aspects of Byzantine fish consumption, see F. TINNEFELD, *Zur kulinärischen Qualität byzantinischer Speisefische*, in: *Studies in the Mediterranean World. Collected Papers presented to Kin-ichi WATANABE*. Tokyo 1988, 155—176; see 161.

(C) 151 ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις αὐτοῦ: that is, of the *domestikos* of the household service.

(C) 156—157 καυκοπινάκια: καύκος + πινάκιον, drinking bowls or pitchers: cf. *Pantokratōr Typikon* 1104—1105; cf. DEMĒTRAKOS s. v. These are presumably for the members of the expedition — or are they intended for the captured fowl? See VOLK, *Gesundheitswesen* 156, n. 505.

(C) 158 τῆς χομπίνας αὐτῶν: Lat. *combina*, anc. Greek σύνθημα, also κομβίνα = *tractoria*, originally a warrant issued by the praetorian

prefect for the use of animals of the public post; by extension, applied to the teams of animals themselves. Cf. JONES, LRE 830—831; DAREMBERG-SAGLIO I 1371—1372; Lexikographie 166f. (STEINER); DU CANGE 689—690 s. v. κομβίνα; REISKE, Comm. 308. It refers thus also to the teams of chariot-horses of the Blues, Greens and other racing clubs, cf. De Cer. 333, 23; 339, 16. 19, and to the order for such races to take place, cf. De Cer. 304, 1; as well as to the programme of the races. Cf. κομβινογράφος, De Cer. 313, 1—2. 17. See VOGT, Cér. Comm. II 134; and ΚΑΗΑΝΕ, Western Impact 133. The use of the term here — to mean team or train of animals — nicely supports HENDY's hypothesis, Studies 610—611, that the *mitata* from which a large number of these animals were drawn were in origin stock-breeding farms for the *cursus publicus* or *dromos*. Cf. (C) 333—335; and ΚΑΗΑΝΕ, Abendland und Byzanz 521.

(C) 158—159 και ὅσα σαγμάρια στρέψει ὁ μινσουράτωρ: that is, those animals no longer required by the *minsouratōr* once the emperor has entered Syria. See on (C) 178—180. For the *minsouratōr*, see on (B) 48 and (B) 117 supra.

(C) 164 ἀνάδιπλα: the tents are in two ζυγαί, cf. line 165.

(C) 165 Ῥωμανία: see DÖLGER, BES 77.

(C) 168—169 σαμνία ... ἄνδρες γ': cf. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 78: Lat. *scamnum*, cf. DU CANGE 1380 s. v.

(C) 170 μεσάλια και μανδύλια: Lat. *mensalia* (DU CANGE 905; Th. Cont. 661, 8); and Lat. *mantele* (DU CANGE 868; cf. SOPHOCLES s. v. μαντήλιον).

(C) 170 ἐπέυχια: rugs, originally, as the name implies, for prayer. Cf. V. Andreae Sali 705A; and Th. Cont. 319; with the discussion of C. MANGO, Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium, in: Byzantium and the Classical Tradition, eds. M. MULLETT—R. D. SCOTT. Birmingham 1981, 48—57 (repr. in C. MANGO, Byzantium and its Image: History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage. London [Variorum] 1984, III).

For φούντατα, tufted/tassled, see DU CANGE 1696 s. v. φοῦντα; and for a variety of suggested derivations, REISKE, Comm. 510—516. Cf. mod. Greek φοῦντα, tassel; φουντωτό, tassled; and note Pontic

φοῦντα = βαλάντιον, purse or pouch. Cf. De Cer. 575, 3: τὰ χλανίδια τὰ φουνδάτα; also 575, 6. 13—14. 22—23: τὰ φουνδάτα ἀλλάξιμα; *ibid.* 577, 13; 641, 12. 14. 16; and see EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 55; Ps.-Cod. (VERPEAUX) IV 53. For tufted in the sense of thick or dense, see ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* II/2, 86; and Lat. *fundata*; cf. B. MEINERSMANN, *Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri*. Leipzig 1927, 64.

(C) 171 τὰ εἰς χαμόκουμβα ἐνεργοῦντα: anc. Greek χαμαί, later χαμό; cf. χαμαικλινής, later χαμοκλίνης, etc; + ἀκουβεῖν/ἀκουμβίζειν, Lat. *accumbere*; cf. ἀκκούβιτον/*accubare*; and cf. EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 81, n. 7.

(C) 173 πιλωτά: cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 915; 921. Compare πιλέω, make firm/compact; and note Suidas IV 131, 15. 17: πῖλος/πιλία, τὸ κέντουκλον/τὰ κέντουκλα; DU CANGE 1169 s. v. πῖλος/πιλωτάριον; see also line 175 below; and (C) 524. See REISKE, *Comm.* 571; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* II/2, 71; DĒMĒTRAKOS vol. 7, 5819 s. v.; and, for example, THEOCHARIDÈS, *Διαθήκη* 20, 58: πιλωτὰ . . . μετὰ προσκεφαλαίων. From Pantokratōr Typikon 921ff., it is clear that the *proskephalaia* are filled with wool; the *pilōta* would appear to be blankets or quilts. While the exact application of the term may have changed over the intervening two centuries, a form of quilted or filled cover which could be used either as a cushion or a mattress seems to be meant in both cases. See VOLK, *Gesundheitswesen* 137—138, n. 404 and further references. Note also *ibid.* n. 405.

(C) 173 διβλάττια: see GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 333—346; KAHANE, *Abendland und Byzanz* 386. The term *blatta* (Gr. βλάττια) designated originally the common cockroach (*blatta orientalis*), but was also applied to the beetle *coccus ilicus* (mistakenly taken in antiquity for a berry, *coccus tinctorius*), which fed on the kermes oak, indigenous to southern Europe, N. Africa and parts of Asia Minor and which, when collected, was crushed to produce a bright red dye (see MAIGNE D'ARNIS 328 s. v.; Oxford Lat. Dict. I 236; DU CANGE, *Gloss. Lat.* 701; R. P. MULTHAUF, art. Dyes and Dyeing. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 4 [1984] 325—329). It was imported in large quantities into Italy from the first century A. D. for use in the flourishing weaving and dyeing industry there, and in the West came to replace almost entirely the Tyrian dye imported from the

East and extracted from the *murex* (see CEHE II 360). The term *blatta* was used of the dye obtained through the processing of these insects, and also of cloth dyed with it. The exact origins of the term are unclear. Similar processes for obtaining dyestuffs existed elsewhere. In the medieval period Polish texts describe a similar process, in which a certain insect was collected, pulverised after being dried, and exported as a dye via the Black Sea. The dye was referred to in Polish as *czierwic* or *crvac*, in German as *Johannis Blut*. See S. RADOJČIĆ, *Crvac. Zograf* 2 (1967) 30—31. The use of the term “blood” to describe deep red dyes seems to have been widespread — cf. Ep. Bibl. VIII (usually explained through Pliny’s identification of the juice of the *murex* with blood, see, for example, LOPEZ, *Silk Industry* 15, n. 1). Note that *blatta* or *blattea* also meant a clot of blood (see LEWIS—SHORT, s. v.); but whether the Lat. *blatta* is related etymologically to the medieval German *Blut* is unclear. For Lat. *blatta/sericoblatta* as (purple-dyed) silks, see LP LIII.X; LXVI.IV (DUCHESNE I 271; 312); CTh. X 20, 13; note also Ed. Diocl. 24, 1a. 2. 3; 19, 9. 10. 14b; Cass., *Variae* I 2, 6; XII 4, 4. While at first describing simply the colour, the term soon came to be applied to purple-dyed silks specifically, and then to silks *tout court*, replacing the older general term *sērikon*. Thus in Diocletian’s Edict on prices, *blatta* still refers to the colour purple in general; *σρηικόν* or *μέταξα* is used of silk; other red or purple dyes are specified, for example, *πορφύρα* (from the mollusc, *murex trunculus*), *ισγένη* (archil, *rocella tinctoria*, extracted from lichens) and *κοκκηρά* (kermes itself), and so on. Cf. Ed. Diocl. 22—24 passim; Comm. 270—272. See GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 337, n. 1. So *όλοσήρικον* gives way to *όλόβλαττον*. In Byzantine texts, therefore, the word *blattion* is often qualified by an adjective of colour, see GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 335—337; and Dig. Akr. 58, 259; 80, 237: *πράσινον, ρόδινον βλαττίον . . .*; 130, 919; 122, 795 etc. In the *De caerimoniis*, in this text, and in others from the ninth century and later, *blattion* signifies pure silk, silk garments, or pieces of silk embroidered onto other cloths or garments. Thus a *διβιτήσιον τριβλάττιον* signifies a *divitēsion* with three *blattia* attached, probably in the form of edging or borders; but also in the form of squares or bands of silk sewn onto the garment — see GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 339—345. Garments with two *blattia* sewn on, and those with only one *blattion*, are thus referred to as *diblattia* and *lita*: see, for example, (C) 501sq. etc.; and cf. the

Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos 1725: βλαττία ὄξυκάστορα; 1728: βλαττίν τριβλάττιον. For the contrast between garments of pure silk, unmixed, and those of mixed or less than pure quality, see on (C) 300sq. infra. On purple and purple production in general, see K. SCHNEIDER, Art. Purpura. *RE* XXIII/1 (1959) 2000—2020; DAREMBERG-SAGLIO IV/1, 769—778, esp. 773f. on *blatta*; and St. MROZEK, Le prix de la pourpre en histoire romaine, in: Les dévaluations à Rome (*Colloques de l'École française à Rome* 37). Rome 1980, 235—242. On the production of silk clothing, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 317, and the *archontes tou blattiou*, in charge of the silk workshops of the *eidikon*; also HENDY, Studies 630; and for a detailed, if rather dated survey of silk production in the empire, see LOPEZ, Silk Industry; also F. MICHEL, Recherches sur le commerce, la fabrication et l'usage des étoffes de soie, d'or et d'argent. Paris 1852; D. SIMON, Die byzantinischen Seidenzünfte. *BZ* 68 (1975) 23—46; A. MUTHESIUS, A Practical Approach to the History of Byzantine Silk-Weaving. *JÖB* 34 (1984) 235—254; cf. also GOITEIN, *Med. Soc.* I 103 and notes; 104; CEHE II 103—105; 107f. For some examples of different medieval silks of this period, see Marielle MARTINIANI-REBER, Lyon, Musée historique des tissus. Soieries sassanides, coptes et byzantines Ve—XIe siècles (*Inventaires des Collections Publiques Françaises* 30). Paris 1986.

(C) 173 πτενά: cf. REISKE, *Comm.* 516; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *ΕΕΒΣ* 19 (1949) 110; and cf. Pontic φτενό, lean, thin (PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD* s. v.); SOPHOCLES s. v.; note E. TRAPP, A Greek Lexicon of the Middle Byzantine Period. *BMGS* 11 (1987) 231—236.

(C) 175 ἕτερα πλωτά ... λιτρῶν λ': λινοβένετα: blue flax/linen; cf. λινόχρυσα, ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* II/2, 23; GEORGACAS, Flax and Linen 256. — ἔχοντα μαλὸν κτενιστόν: with the pile or nap brushed or combed up (where μαλόν/μαλλόν is used in the general sense rather than the specific sense of "wool"). — ἀνά λιτρῶν λ': each weighing thirty pounds. These were clearly large, filled cushions, of the type still in use throughout the Balkans and east Mediterranean area today, upon which one could recline in comfort. See (C) 524—525. On the Byzantine *litra*, see SCHILBACH, *Metrologie* 172—181, esp. 174.

(C) 176 τοὺς κλητορευομένους φίλους: see DU CANGE 665—666 s. v. κλητόριον/κλητορευέιν: also OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 27, n. 29; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 80—81 and notes; and (C) 284 infra.

(C) 176—177 κιλίκια . . . φιλῶν: see on (C) 118; note the clear distinction between the cushions and mats provided for the emperor's guests (linen cushions and goats' wool rugs) and those which are provided for the emperor himself (deep-piled rugs, fluffy cushions). See (C) 213—214.

(C) 178—180: here the list of items to be provided by the *minsourator* is interrupted by a comment on the fate of the extra equipment carried, once the expedition leaves the empire; see (C) 512sq., for comparison.

(C) 179—180 ὁ κατὰ τὸν τόπον πρωτονοτάριος: that is, of the *thema* from which the expedition exits into enemy territory.

(C) 180—181 λουτρὸν Τουρκικόν, ἤγουν Σκυθικόν τζεργά: Turk. *zärgä* and Hung. *čerge*, tent/stall/canopy/framework of wood; cf. REISKE, Comm. 516—517; MORAVCSIK, Byzantinoturcica II 312; HENDY, Studies 306: “probably Magyar”.

(C) 181 ἀπὸ ἀδημίου: see ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP IV 403; REISKE, Comm. 517—517; probably related to Arabic *‘adīm*, tanned leather or hide; and cf. (C) 246 infra: ὑποδήματα ἀδήμια.

(C) 182 κουκούμια: Lat. *cucuma*, pitcher, cauldron; presumably for the water for the steam bath. Cf. LAMPE s. v.; KAHANE, Abendland und Byzanz 390—391.

(C) 182 πυρομάχια: fire-bricks or grates for the hearth, cf. mod. Greek πυρίμαχος/πυρομάχος, fire-dog. They numbered twelve, presumably one for each *koukoumion*. Cf. also Epirot κακκαβομάχια, grate/rest for a kettle/cauldron: ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, EEBΣ 19 (1949) 101; and esp. THEOCHARIDÈS, Διαθήκη 23, 109: πυρομάχοι (but interpreted as “tongs”).

(C) 182 βίσαλα: Lat. *bessalis/bessalium*; cf. DU CANGE 197 s. v.; DAI 29, 246; 42, 36: βήσσαλα. See LAMPE s. v. βήσαλον; and note Narratio de Sancta Sophia 92, 2sq.; 107, 2.

(C) 183 καμίνιον: furnace or hearth; cf. DU CANGE 562 s. v.; note that the καμινοβιγλάτορες of De Vel. Bell. 188, 4—12 (DENNIS 2, 2sq.; DAGRON-MIHĂESCU II 2sq.) have no connection with a system of beacons. The *kamino-* element derives here from Lat. *caminus*, road,

rather than, as in the case of *kaminion*, hearth etc., from Lat. *caminus*, hearth. See DAGRON, Phocas 246—247.

(C) 183 κραβάττια: cf. DU CANGE 749—750.

(C) 183 ἐκκλησίαν βασιλικήν: see REISKE's note, Comm. 518—520.

(C) 185—186 διὰ . . . τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος διδομένων: i. e. those from the imperial bedchamber attached or seconded to the private imperial *vestiarion*. On the *koitōn*, see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 305.

(C) 188 ἀμφιάσις: “wardrobe”, see on (B) 35 supra.

(C) 189 τομαρίων: cf. τομάρη, DU CANGE 1582; cf. De Cer. 658, 10.

(C) 189 χαρταλαμίω: cf. REISKE, Comm. 521, for an attempt to resolve the term. He suggests Lat. *charta* + *lamna/lamina* (cf. LSJ s. v. *χάρτα*; note that the *eidikon* issued lead in *χάρται* or sheets, De Cer. 671, 8; 676, 13—14), so that the word signifies laminated leather grips or handles, polished up. In fact, the term seems to have been common in the fifth and sixth centuries as a word for belt or girdle: see Lydus, De Mag. 69, 20—22, who explains that it is of Celtic origin. Cf. Miracula S. Artemii 20, 16, where τὸ καρταλάμιν is an item of clothing, a belt or waistband; DU CANGE 596 s. v.; and esp. C. WESSELY, Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde 20. Leipzig 1921, Nr. 133, for P. Erzherzog Rainer gr. 2132 (347), an early seventh-century Fayum papyrus listing the delivery to the local garrison of “Bulgarian belts”, βουλγαρι[κοῦ καρτα]λαμίου. See GY. MORAVCSIK, Der Name der Bulgaren in einem griechischen Papyrus. *Körösi Csoma-Archivum* 1/2 (1936) 119—128, see 123f.

(C) 190 ψυχριστάρια: cf. ψυχριστήριον.

(C) 191 οἰνάνθη: anc. Greek vine blossom; here, spiced wine: cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 1104; and DU CANGE 1034 s. v. See KOUKOU-LÈS, BBP IV 348.

(C) 191 ῥοδόσταγμα: cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 172; 1147; Theotokos Kecharitōmenē Typikon 1602; LSJ s. v.; DU CANGE 1304. *Oinanthē* and *rhodostagma* are μυριστικά: De Cer. 586, 2—3. Cf. Attaleiatēs in: SATHAS, MB I 9; Kekaumenos 49, 6 (LITAVRIN 216, 5).

(C) 193 βεδούρια: see REISKE, Comm. 522; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 101; cf. Slav. *vedro*.

(C) 193 ἀσκοδάβλαι: see ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 110, n. 5; IDEM, *EEBS* 19 (1949) 100; DEMÈTRAKOS s. v.; DU CANGE s. v. 141.

(C) 194 δίκην μαγαρικῶν: cf. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 104—105; cf. SCHILBACH, *Metrologie* 100—101: the *magarikon* was also a liquid measure equal to the value of one pitcher.

(C) 196—198 βιβλία . . . καстроμαχίας: see Leo, *Tact.* XX 136. Exactly which texts were taken along is impossible to say. There was clearly a wide variety available, see Leo's remarks, *Tact.* proem. 676B. Cod. Par. suppl. gr. 607, dating to c. 900—950, and constituting one of the oldest collections of Constantinian *stratēgika*, is in fact devoted entirely to poliorcetic works (including, for example, Athenaeus, *De machinis*; Biton, *De constructione machinarum*; and texts of Heron and Apollodorus on missile weapons and siege techniques). It is quite probable that Constantine was thinking of this, or a similar, compilation. Note that this particular codex contains also works of Polyaeus. See DAIN, *Stratēgistes* 347—349; 380—381; HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* II 324—326; 329—335.

(C) 198—199 Πολύαινον: see HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* II 325—326. Polyaeus was a military compiler of the second century A. D. — see DAIN, *Stratēgistes* 333—335 — popular in the tenth-century compilations (see DAIN, *Stratēgistes* 348; 371; 381; IDEM, *Les cinq adaptations byzantines des "Stratagèmes" de Polyen.* *Revue des Études Anciennes* 33 [1931] 321—345).

(C) 199 Συριανόν: see HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* II 327. Syrianos *magistros*, a sixth-century writer; known to have produced a text on naval warfare which is included in cod. Ambr. B 119 sup. (see Introduction, p. 37) dated to 959—963, and in the *Tactica* of the general Nicephorus Uranus. See DAIN, *Stratēgistes* 342; 371. The reference to βιβλία ιστορικά refers to the fact that both Polyaeus and Syrianos include a number of illustrations drawn from past history — in the case of Polyaeus, for example, from Herodotos, Thucydides and others. Cf. Suidas s. n. Polyainos, who composed τακτικά βιβλία γ' και ἄλλα. See DAIN, *Stratēgistes* 334. On the tenth-century

compilations and their antecedents and tradition, see also DAGRON, Phocas 139ff.

(C) 199 τὸν Ὀνειροκρίτην: almost certainly a reference to Artemidoros, see BECK, *Volksliteratur* 203—204; HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* II 223—224; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* I/2, 183—184. The use of such books seems to have been widespread; Eustathios Boilas left one in his will: *Testament d' Eustathios Boilas* 160; and see G. CALOFONOS, *Dream Interpretation: a Byzantinist Superstition?* *BMGs* 9 (1984/85) 215—220.

(C) 199 βιβλίον Συναντηματικόν: a book of chances and occurrences and how to interpret them. See ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* I/2, 213—214; note that Leo, *Tact.* XX 78 stresses the importance of being able to produce counter-interpretations to encourage the troops from being misled by popular anxieties and misapprehensions (but see also *Tact.* XX 80). Note also the tenth-century compilation *De obsidione toleranda*, c. 10 (p. 47), which advises the commander of a town preparing for a siege to make use of, among others, ἀστρονόμους πρὸς διάγνωσιν συντελοῦντας ὑδάτων καὶ ἀνέμων φοράν . . .; and cf. the account of a type of *hippomanteia* described by Harūn b. Yahya 163 (VASILIEV).

(C) 200—202 βιβλίον . . . οἱ πλευστικοί: see HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* II 234—235; 242 and n. 33; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* I/2, 124—125; 218ff.; 224. All these traditions were firmly rooted in Byzantine cultural tradition and at all levels of society. That the emperor should also possess or make use of such books should not surprise — see HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* II 239.

(C) 202—204 ἰστέον δὲ . . . Ῥωμαίων: Constantine had made or commissioned his own compilation of natural climatic phenomena and their interpretation, part of his wider activities as a literary encyclopaedist: see TOYNBEE, *Const. Porph.* 575ff.; HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* II 239; and see above, Introduction, p. 38. One of these works is still extant, a meteorological guide for sailors: ed. S. LAMPROS, *Τρία κείμενα συμβάλλοντα εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Βυζαντινοῖς. Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 9 (1912) 162—177, text 171—173. Note the title: Οἱ παρὰ τῶν πλευστικωτέρων Μαρδαϊτῶν ὀρθῶς παρατηρούμενοι καιροὶ τε καὶ ἀστέρες, ὅποταν ζάλην ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ τρικυμίαν εἰώθασιν ἐμποιεῖν,

ἐξ ὧν συμβαίνουσι τὰ ναυάγια καὶ πάλιν νηνεμίας τε καὶ εὐδίας, δι' ὧν κατορθοῦνται τὰ ταξείδια. For an English translation and commentary, see R. H. DOLLEY, *Meteorology in the Byzantine Navy. Mariner's Mirror* 37 (1951) 5—16.

(C) 207 θηριάκην: corr. θηριακὴν, see Pantokratōr Typikon 1115; an antidote against venom or poison, see MILLER, *Spice Trade* 2.

(C) 207 ἡνίτζιν: σαγαπηνίτζιον/σαγάπηνον; the juice of the plant *sacopernium* (*Ferula persica*) related to fennel. See MILLER, *Spice Trade* 100; ANDRÉ, *L'Alimentation* 206; cf. also REISKE, *Comm.* 525; DU CANGE 1368 s. v. σικινίβιτζ/σικιπήνιτζ; and LSJ s. v. σαγάπηνον.

(C) 207—208 σκευαστὰ καὶ μονοειδῆ: i. e. mixed (prepared) and simple (unprepared). Cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 1114—1115: βοηθήματα, ἔμπλαστρα, σκευασταί; and *ibid.* 1084. The division into prepared and unprepared (and a number of other categories) echoes classical and Roman medical theory and practice. See, for example, J. STANNARD, *Byzantine Botanical Lexicography. Episteme* 5 (1971) 168—187; E. JEANSELME, *Sur un aide-mémoire de thérapeutique byzantine*, in: *Mélanges CH. DIEHL*, vol. I. Paris 1930, 147ff.; and for the classical division of plants and herbs into *simplicia* and *composita*, see the survey of J. STANNARD, *Aspects of Byzantine Materia medica. DOP* 38 (1984) 205—211, see 208—210; and in particular the discussion of J. SCARBOROUGH, *Early Byzantine Pharmacology. DOP* 38 (1984) 213—232. The terms employed in our text suggest a familiarity with the classical tradition as exemplified in later Byzantine redactions of Galen, Oribasius, Aetius of Amida, Alexander of Tralles and others. See the discussion of SCARBOROUGH, *art. cit.* In general on later Roman and Byzantine medical knowledge and theory, see also O. TEMKIN, *Byzantine Medicine: Tradition and Empiricism. DOP* 16 (1962) 97—115; J. A. M. SONDERKAMP, *Theophanes Nonnus: Medicine in the Circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. DOP* 38 (1984) 29—41; SCARBOROUGH, *Roman Medicine*, esp. 66—75; *CMH* IV/2, 290—294 with literature at 459—463; and the survey in HUNGER, *Profane Lit.* II 287—320, esp. 304—306. See the general introduction in *DOP* 38 (1984) by J. SCARBOROUGH, to the “Symposium on Byzantine Medicine”, IX—XVI, with literature, along with the other contributions not cited here.

(C) 208 πανδέκται: all-purpose containers, cf. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 84; REISKE, Comm. 526; and see SCARBOROUGH, Roman Medicine 86—87.

(C) 209 ἐμπλάστρων καὶ ἀλειφῶν καὶ ἀλειμμάτων: note on (C) 207—208 above; and VOLK, Gesundheitswesen 152, n. 482.

(C) 211 σιτλολέκανα: λεκάνη/λεκάνιον + σίτλα/σίτλιον: Lat. *situla*. Cf. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 64; ΚΑΗΑΝΕ, Abendland und Byzanz 454f.

(C) 211 ἐπιχυτρία: ἐπιχέω/ἐπιχύτης; DU CANGE 431 s. v. ἐπιχύτης; and ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP IV 28; 447.

(C) 212 ἀσπρόχαλκα: cf. De Cer. 570, 17—18; 571, 18: ἀλυσίδια ἀσπρόχαλκα; see REISKE, Comm. 526: bronze with a high tin content; or (more probably) tinned bronze or copper.

(C) 214 σελλία: refers normally to a seat or throne (as opposed to *sella*, *saddle*), see GUILLAND, REG 58 (1945) 202, n. 7 and references; note also VOLK, Gesundheitswesen 214, n. 784 and references.

(C) 214—216 σελλία τοῦ κουκουμιλίου . . . χρείας: see GUILLAND, REG 58 (1945) 201ff. For κουκουμίλιον, cf. Lat. *cucumella*, pot or vase; and for αἱ χρείαι as (in this case) portable or travelling latrines, see Miracula S. Artemii 56, 12—13. 17. See DU CANGE 1759 s. v.; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP IV 310. These are constructed from chairs, pierced through the centre and equipped with covers. For δλόκανα, cf. ὄλος + Lat. *canus*, base/grey metal: in this case, gilded (*diachrysa*); cf. De Cer. 574, 21—22: τὰ χρυσόκανα σπαθία; see GUILLAND, REG 58 (1945) 203—204; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 91, n. 36; GUILLAND, Institutions I 283; DU CANGE 574 s. v. κανικόν; and cf. MEURSIUS, Gloss. graeco-barb. s. v.

(C) 217 ἀργυροκατάκλειστα: see REISKE, Comm. 527.

(C) 217 καυκία . . . χαλίνζια: cups of χαλίνζια type, i. e. goblets; for χαλίνζια, κάλυζα/κάλιτζα deriving from *calix*, κύλιξ, cf. DU CANGE 558; REISKE, Comm. 528. The word is probably derived via a Balkan Latin substitution of an affricative for a dental plosive before a front vowel: κάλυξ — καλύκι(ο)ν — καλίντζιν, with a change from a palatal *x* to a glottalised *χ*.

- (C) 219 παραμήριον: see HALDON, *Milit. Technology* 31 and literature.
- (C) 220 σάχαρ: not cane sugar, introduced only from the eighth century; but a silicon accretion collected from the knots on certain bamboos, used chiefly for medicinal purposes; imported from India from Hellenistic times; also known as *tabasir*. See for discussion and literature, ANDRÉ, *L'Alimentation* 186 and n. 2; and note VOLK, *Gesundheitswesen* 157 and n. 510 with literature.
- (C) 220 μόσχον: cf. HEMMERDINGER, *Noms communs grecs* 25.
- (C) 220 ζμπαρ: imported from the Arabian peninsula, cf. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* II/1, 205.
- (C) 220—221 ξυλαλοήν υγράν και ξηράν: wood or bitter aloes, moist or dry, used to change the colour and flavour of wine, along with saffron and cinnamon, also listed here: see ANDRÉ, *L'Alimentation* 164; 167; cf. *Pantokratōr Typikon* 173; *Theotokos Kecharitōmenē Typikon* 1602; *Symeon Seth* 72, 15. On all the spices and perfumes listed here, see MILLER, *Spice Trade* esp. 34—35; 65—67; 119ff.; and note ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* II/2, 205—206; and *Theoph.* 322, 3—6; *Ep. Bibl.* X 1; 2; further, ANDRÉ, *L'Alimentation*, loc. cit. and 204ff.; and E. JEANSELME, *Sels médicamenteux et aromatiques pris par les Byzantins au cours des repas. Bull. de la Société française de l'Histoire de la Médecine* (1922) 324—334. Cf. the list in *Ed. Diocl.* 32, 35ff.
- (C) 222 σενδέες: silk cloths or sheets — see on (C) 739—740 *infra*; and cf. *Th. Cont.* 318, 13; *De Cer.* 576, 21—22; the term originally denoted silk from Sidon, whence the name, cf. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* II/2, 6; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 54, n. 5; mod. Greek τὸ σεντόνι. Cf. ΚΑΗΑΝΕ, *Abendland und Byzanz* 385 (*Persian sundus*).
- (C) 222 λινομαλωτάρια: linen (see GEORGACAS, *Flax and Linen* 255, n. 5) and μαλωτάριον/μηλωτάριον, originally cloth (garment) of sheep's wool, by derivation cloth or garment *tout court*. See GEORGACAS, *Flax and Linen* 256; 265, n. 46; K. AMANTOS, *Μαλλωτόν—μαλλωτάριον. ΕΕΒΣ* 2 (1925) 278f. Cf. *Th. Cont.* 318, 15; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* II/2, 22—23; DU CANGE 858, and s. v. *μηλωτή*, 923—924.
- (C) 222 σάβανα: linen broadcloth or towelling; F. OLCK, *Art. Flachs.*

RE VI (1909) 2435—2484; A. HUG, Art. Sabanum. *RE* I A (1920) 1532—1533. Cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 391; 1057; Th. Cont. 199, 22; 661, 7; and De Cer. 215, 5. 8; note also De Cer. 100, 23; 255, 16; 574, 11 where σαβάνια are a type of tunic; note also Achmes, Oneirocriticon, ed. F. DREXL, Leipzig 1925, 115, 4—5, where a σάβανον is a type of ἀναβόλιον or mantle. In Ep. Bibl. IX 7, οἱ τὰ σάβανα ἐργαζόμενοι were permitted to sell their wares only on certain days, and not from permanent stalls. For the tenth-century use of the term as “towel(s)”, see O. KRESTEN, Die „Häretikerin“ Simplicia. Ep. CXV des Basileios von Kaisareia in Wiener griechischen Handschriften. *Codices manuscripti* 6 (1980) 41—58, see 43. For the term in the seventh century, see Miracula S. Artemii 12, 1 3; V. Andreae Sali 745B (shroud); and H. DELEHAYE, Narratio Sergiae de translatione sanctae Olympiadis. *Analecta Bollandiana* 16 (1897) 44—51, see 47, 27 (shroud) (see BECK, Kirche 461); V. Theod. Syk. 157, 52 with commentary, 261; and note the seals of officials connected with the imperial baths, where towels of this material were used: ZACOS-VEGLERY, nos. 2232, of a βασιλικὸς ἀσάβανις; 2931, of an ἀδσαβάνις; 2796, of an *adsabanis*, all of the later sixth or seventh century (with the note of ZACOS-VEGLERY). The origins of the word may be north African; cf. Ed. Diocl. 28, 57—65 (linen towels, in three categories), Lat. *sabanum* (see LSJ s. v. σάβανον), and Comm. 276f. Cf. Arab. *saban*, the thickest type of linen, possibly named after the area of Saban in the Maghreb — see Lisan al-°Arab II 93; and cf. mod. Spanish *sabana*, sheet. See also DU CANGE 1313—1314; KOUKOUΛÈS, BBP IV 447; VOGT, Cér. Comm. I 116; and cf. mod Greek σάβανον, shroud or winding-sheet; also VOLK, Gesundheitswesen 151 and n. 475.

(C) 222 σινδόνια: fine cotton/muslin cloth; cf. Ed. Diocl. 28, 16. 31 (three types according to quality), used of bed-linen/sheets. Cf. mod. Greek σινδόνη/σινδών.

(C) 222 βραναῖαι: prob. Lat. *brandeum*, cf. DU CANGE, Gloss. Lat. s. v.; and KOUKOUΛÈS, BBP VI 455—456; REISKE, Comm. 530. Cf. mod. Greek ἡ βρανεά/τὰ βρανιά; note also VOLK, Gesundheitswesen 203, n. 726.

(C) 222—223 κατωτικάι: “western” or possibly “Greek”: cf. Theoph. 429, 24: ἐκ τῶν νήσων καὶ Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν κατωτικῶν μερῶν . . . ; 465, 4:

ἐπὶ τὰ κατωτικὰ μέρη ἕως Σικελίας. Cf. DU CANGE 624 s. v.; but note also De Cer. 393, 4; and esp. REISKE, Comm. 379—381, who argues that *anō* and *katō* denoted south(wards) and north(wards) respectively (with an axis running through Constantinople from Italy and the Balkans down to the Syrian frontier. Thus “lower” regions, from the point of view of an army marching towards Syria, would have meant “back down” towards Constantinople and the West or North). See K. AMANTOS, Κατωτικά = Ἑλλάς. Ἑλληνικά 1 (1928) 244, who adduces further evidence; and IDEM, Κατωτικά — Κάτω Μέρη. Ἑλληνικά 8 (1935) 28. Alternatively, the term may be applied literally, and mean something like “low quality” — although this seems less likely.

(C) 224 ἀρράφίων: see REISKE, Comm. 530—533; GUILLAND, REG 62 (1949) 328 ff., who shows that τὰ ἀρράφια are opposed to τὰ ἐρράμμένα (see on [C] 233 infra): the former were garments without decorations or added pieces of cloth sewn on; the latter were so decorated (ἀμφιεσμένα) having a single piece or border (and consequently described as λιτά) of silk, or a double or triple piece or border of silk (διβλάττια/τριβλάττια).

(C) 224 λόγῳ ξενίων: as goodwill presents; compare this list with that of the gifts sent to Hugh during the reign of Romanos I, at De Cer. 661, 13—662, 11. For ξενία in general, see De Cer. 405, 9.

(C) 225 σκαραμάγγια: a long undergarment, slashed and with vents at front and back (see on [C] 234 infra), gathered at the waist, and falling to the ankles. For the etymology, see HEMMERDINGER, Noms communs grecs 25—26; P. A. PHOURIKĒS, Περὶ τοῦ ἐτύμου τῶν λέξεων σκαραμάγγιον, καββάδιον σκαράνικον. Λεξικογραφικὸν Ἀρχεῖον τῆς μέσης καὶ νέας ἑλληνικῆς 6 (1923) 444—463; for the garment itself, see VOGT, Cér. Comm. I 29 and literature; ΚΑΗΑΝΕ, Abendland und Byzanz 387; WESSEL, Insignien 420—422; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, Préséance 166, n. 140 and n. 144; EBERSOLT, Mélanges 57—59; the *skaramaggion* was worn under the *chlamys/chlanidion*, a sleeveless mantle or cape fastened by a clasp (VOGT, Cér. Comm. I 30) and the *sagion* (Lat. *sagum*, the short “military” tunic: see EBERSOLT, Mélanges 53, n. 3; 56—57 and notes; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 75). The *skaramaggion* was normally of silk, and was valuable enough to be employed as a hanging during triumphal processions in Constantinople — see on (C) 739—740 infra.

(C) 225 ἐξεμπλίων: Lat. *exemplum*, pattern; cf. DU CANGE 402 s. v. ἐξεμπλωτός; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 41; GUILLAND, REG 58 (1945) 200; cf. De Cer. 578, 1—2: ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον τῆς χροιάς καὶ τοῦ ἐξεμπλίου σκαραμάγγιον.

(C) 225 διάσπρα: either with the colours cross-woven, one shade warp, one shade weft; or died twice (cf. Éd. Diocl. 24, 6: διβάφου). Note that *diblattion*, *triblattion* may not necessarily refer to the number of times the cloth has been dyed: see GUILLAND, REG 62 (1949) 339—348 and on (C) 173 supra. Note ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 40—41; ΚΑΗΑΝΕ, Abendland und Byzanz 385—386.

(C) 226 κολόβια: a sleeveless tunic or under-tunic, often richly embroidered: cf. De Cer. 80, 11—12; VOGT, Cér. Comm. I 113; DU CANGE 684 s. v.; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP VI 269—270; also (C) 749—750 and (C) 836sq., where *kolobion* is used of an *epilōrikon* (q. v.).

(C) 226 μεγάλοζηλα (and cf. μεσόζηλα, lines [C] 227sq.): according to REISKE, Comm. 534—539, these adjectives describe the relative sizes of the garments in question; according to ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 27, the term describes their value. But neither seems right. If the words relate to value, it is hard to see what the difference is between the (ιμάτια) μεσόζηλα δίσχιστα μανιακάτα ἀμφιεσμένα ἀπὸ διβλαττίων ([C] 235—236), and the ιμάτια λεπτόζηλα ἐκ τῶν κατ' οἶκουσ πρόκριτα καὶ καθαρὰ ἀμφιεσμένα ἀπὸ τριβλαττίων καὶ διβλαττίων ὀξέων . . . δίσχιστα ([C] 250—252), and why, therefore, these adjectives are not applied to all the garments of different types listed. Where value is important, it is clearly specified using obvious terms, e. g. διαφόρων ποιότητων ([C] 243); διαφόρων τιμῶν καὶ ποιότητων ([C] 295); πρόκριτα καὶ δεύτερα ([C] 250, 253). See on (C) 289—290 infra: δεκάλια. If, on the other hand, it refers to size, the latter point is equally valid — why are such descriptive terms not applied to all types of clothing? Further, why is the selection of clothes for, for example, thematic turmarchs, thus limited? Were they all short? (cf. [C] 253—254: ιμάτια . . . λεπτόζηλα . . . διὰ τοὺς θεματικούς . . .). The terms are applied to a variety of types of garment: see Ep. Bibl. IV 1; VIII 1; 2; De Cer. 661, 20; 677, 16; (C) 235—237, 250sq. But neither size nor value seems to be reflected in these terms.

There does seem to be a connection between these terms, however, and the adjectives δεκάπωλον, δωδεκάπωλον, ἐξάπωλον which appear in the Book of the Prefect (e.g. Ep. Bibl. VIII 2). These terms, derived from πόλος, a strand or piece/length of cloth, made up from a given number of threads, refer to the number of seams present in a particular garment; the greater the number of pieces out of which the item is constructed, the greater the number of seams, and hence the lower the value (see ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP VI 282; IDEM, *EEBΣ* 19 [1949] 109; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, *Préséance* 126, n. 80; NICOLE, at Ep. Bibl. 96. Note that *polos* had a technical significance in liturgical vestments also, referring to the crosses or circles sewn onto or embroidered into an *omophorion*: see P. JOHNSTONE, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery*. London 1967, 18; 104 with literature; and note in general Maria S. THEOCHARIS, *Ἐκκλησιαστικά Χρυσοκέντητα*. Athens 1986).

Thus the garments with the greater number of seams (δωδεκάπωλα, δεκάπωλα) are exempted in the *Eparchikon biblion* (VIII 2) from the category of κεκωλυμένα, and can be manufactured by ordinary persons without a special licence. These terms — ἐξάπωλα, δεκάπωλα, δωδεκάπωλα — thus have nothing directly to do with their value either (when the *Eparchikon biblion* wishes to specify value, i.e. monetary worth or market value, it does so explicitly: cf. VIII 1: τὰ ὑπὲρ δέκα τιμώμενα νομίσματα ἱμάτια, or with the terms ἐξάλια, δεκάλια etc. — see [C] 289—290 infra), pace HENDY, *Studies* 310; but rather with their composition. See also ΚΑΗΑΝΕ, *Abendland und Byzanz* 418: ἐξάπολον.

Now it is significant that the less valuable of the precious garments, described as δεκάπωλα and δωδεκάπωλα, could also be described as λεπτόζηλα (Ep. Bibl. VIII 2), suggesting a correlation between the less valuable silks and the term λεπτόζηλον, and the more valuable silks and the terms μεσόζηλον, μεγαλόζηλον. But this does not, as has been made clear already, reflect a direct market-exchange valuation; it seems rather to be connected with the fineness of the cloth on the one hand, and more significantly, with the degree of demand for the cloth or item of clothing. I would connect it, therefore, with ζήλος (cf. ἀρίζηλος) and suggest that it relates to the degree to which the silks in question were in demand or, alternatively, prohibited to public production or use. The most precious, or highest in demand, were thus μεγαλόζηλα, those less sought after

were μεσόζηλα, and those least in demand of the precious cloths were λεπτόζηλα. See LSJ s. v. ζῆλος. This explanation fits in well with the use of the terms in the texts, and in particular the fact that where a direct valuation is expressed, a directly applicable term, but not one of those discussed here, is employed. For the prohibited cloths, see ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Douanes* 50ff.; and see Ep. Bibl. IV 1; 8; VIII 1; 2.

(C) 226 ἐκ τῶν κατ' οἴκους: that is, produced in imperial workshops as opposed to purchased on the market: see (C) 289—290: ἱμάτια ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου etc. Such garments were worked up in imperial *ergodosia* under the *archontes* in charge, within the competence of the bureau of the *eidikon*. See OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 317; LAURENT, *Corpus* II 323f.; 325ff. See also A. MUTHESIUS, art. cit. (see on [C] 173 above).

(C) 226 ἐσωφόρια: unspecified inner- or under-garments; cf., for example, De Cer. 677, 16: ἱμάτια ἐσωφόρια μεγαλόζηλα.

(C) 229 ἀσπρομύναια: from ἄσπρον with μύνη/μυνάομαι, i. e. false or off-white.

(C) 229 διυγαντάρια: probably from διβλαντάριον/διβλαττάριον, cf. Prod. I 59: a two-coloured silk garment (but not the same as a garment with *diblattia*? — see on [C] 173 supra).

(C) 229 ιαστά: from ἰάζω/ἰός/ἰώδης; cf. DEMĒTRAKOS s. v. ἰός (3); Testament d'Eustathios Boilas 130—131: ἕτερον (σκαραμάγγιν) ... ιαστόν. See on (B) 108—109 supra. This short list alone makes it clear that a very wide range of shades and dyes was available. For a comparison, see GOITEIN, *Med. Soc.* I 106—107, on the division of labour within the dyeing industry represented in the Geniza archive.

(C) 229 λωρωτά: cf. e. g. De Cer. 678, 3. 7: τουβία λωρωτά; KOUKOULÈS, *BBP* II/2, 41; GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 347, n. 4. For the *lōros*, a long wrap, see OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 201, n. 219; and notes 221; 222; also GRIERSON, *DOC* III/1, 120—125 and literature; WESSEL, *Insigien* 428—444.

(C) 229 τρίμιτα: according to REISKE, *Comm.* 539, three-banded or

three-coloured/striped; according to KOUKOULÈS, BBP II/2, 203, of three-threaded warp. As GUILLAND notes, the term (as well as others like it) is the equivalent of Lat. *trilex/bilex* etc., and means twilled of three (or two etc.) threads. Since these might also be of different colours, this description will also have applied to the pattern as well as the thickness of the cloth (cf. Ed. Diocl. 19, 28). See GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 344—345 and notes 1 and 2; note also V. Theod. Syk. 28, 3: λωρίκιον τρίμιτον; Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos 1733—1734: Ἐτέρα ἐνδυτή . . . ἄσπρον ἐξάμιτον of an altar-cloth (i. e. mod. English samite, old French *samit*, etc., of six-threaded warp and therefore particularly rich and heavy); Prod. I 46 (*dimition*, as a type of garment, cf. mod. English dimity). Examples could be multiplied — cf. Will of Kalē Pakourianē (quoted by HENDY, *Studies* 210): τὸ ἱμάτιον . . . τὸ ἐξάμιτον τὸ κίτρινον. See KAHANE, *Abendland und Byzanz* 384.

(C) 233 διὰ τῶν ἐρράμμενων: that is, garments with added pieces sewn on, as opposed to the simple garments already listed as ἀρράφια; see on (C) 224 supra.

(C) 234 δίσχιστα: with vents, or split, at either side or at front and back; see REISKE, *Comm.* 540—543; KOUKOULÈS, *Epist. Ep. Phil. Schol. Pan. Ath.* 5 (1954/55) 56 and notes 1—3; and cf. Niceph., *Praec.* 11, 21; Achmes, *Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. DREXL. Leipzig 1925, 115, 23—24, where men's ἱμάτια are described as δίσχιστα. Cf. also De Cer. 209, 20: τὸ σχιστὸν βῆλον.

(C) 234 μανιακάτα: that is, with *maniakion* or collar/collar-piece. See VOGT, *Cér. Comm.* I 114; KOUKOULÈS, BBP IV 387; DU CANGE 869—870 s. v.; HENDY, *Studies* 308, prefers to read “the collar-pieces being separated”; but *maniakata* should be the adjectival “collared” and describes the garment; while *δίσχιστα* can hardly mean “separated” — see the examples quoted above at (C) 226. On *maniakion* in its original sense of torque or neckband, see GRIERSON, *DOC* II/1, 123 (cf. μάνιξ/μανιάκης; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 91, n. 33 and literature; cf. DAI 25, 81); WESSEL, *Insignien* 417—420. GRIERSON argues that this is the only meaning for the term; in fact, it is clear from this description that the *maniakia* must be collar-pieces for the *skaramaggia* — cf. the *maniakia* decorated with precious stones and pearls, presumably sewn on, at De Cer. 584, 6. *Mania-*

kion, collar or neck-piece, must not be confused with the various forms of μάνικα, μανίικια (Lat. *manica*), arm-covers or sleeves attached to various garments and forming also part of the store of imperial ceremonial vestments, ἀλλαξίματα (see on [C] 700—701 infra). Such vestments could be either long- or short-sleeved (ἄκρο-μάνικα, see De Cer. 528, 18; and κοντομάνικα, κονδομάνικα, κοντομανίικια, see Klet. Phil. 217, 27 and n. 256; De Cer. 294, 15—16; 296, 2—3; 575, 4—5; 578, 20; 590, 7; 641, 8sq.; and for μανίικια, Leo, Tact. VI 13; Niceph., Praec. 1, 17. 19; 11, 7. 12; sleeveless; see also Lydus, De Mag. 21, 21sq.); and could be worn either separately, with various other items of clothing; or — as suggested by De Cer. 641, 8—9 — together with a *lōros* (see on *lōrōta* at [C] 229 supra), like the *thōrakia* listed in the same passage (and see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 200, n. 221). Ἐπιμανίικια, as worn by certain members of the clergy, were apparently also separate sleeves with embroidered decorations, worn for liturgical purposes: see WALTER, Art and Ritual 20—21 and literature.

(C) 234 ἀπό σκαραμαγγίλων: i. e. selected from *skaramaggia* silks.

(C) 235 ἀμφιεσμένα ἀπό διβλαττίων: decorated with two pieces, or borders, of silk; see on (C) 173 supra.

(C) 237 λιτά: as opposed to τριβλάττια or διβλάττια, such garments were either dyed once or had one single *blattion* or silk decoration/border; see on (C) 173 supra, and note REISKE, Comm. 544—545.

(C) 239 τουβία: leggings, cf. Lat. *tubus/tibiale*; DU CANGE 1588; GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 329, n. 2. 3; see De Cer. 439, 7: καμπάγια (see on [C] 783 infra) and καμπότουβα; and De Cer. 678, 7—8 for three different types: τουβία λωρωτά Αἰγυπτικά, τουβία κουκουλάρικα, τουβία βαμβακερά; and cf. Dig. Akr. 80, 226: τουβία . . . ἐξάκουστα; and cf. Ps.-Cod. (VERPEAUX) VII 270, 7—10 (of a horse's parade-leggings). ΜΗΛĂESCU, Terminologie 597.

(C) 240—241 ἀπό διβλαττίων ἀετῶν καὶ βασιλικίων ἀμφιεσμένα: here, the garments of silk are decorated with embroidered eagles and imperial symbols; cf. De Cer. 578, 1—6: ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον τῆς χροιάς καὶ τοῦ ἔξεμπλίου σκαραμάγγιον, ἤγγουν οἱ τοὺς πρασινοροδίλους ἀετοὺς φοροῦντες ἔνθεν κάκειθεν, οἱ τοὺς βόφους καὶ τοὺς πολυγύρους ἀετούς, ὁμοίως οἱ τὰς

θαλάσσας, καὶ τοὺς λευκολέοντας ὁμοίως. καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, καθὼς εἴρηται, ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον σακαράμαγγιον ἔστη. See the comments of ΤΟΥΝΒΕΕ, Const. Porph. 501—502.

(C) 241 ἀπὸ βδελλίων: decorated with hornets or flies; cf. REISKE, Comm. 551; GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 345; DU CANGE 975 s. v. μύγα; ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ IV 85—86. Note the two different classes, προκριτώτερα, δεύτερα — see (C) 250, 253: πρόκριτα, δεύτερα.

(C) 241 σφιγκτούρια: according to ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP VI 293—294, a wide, long overgarment, tied in at the waist; more probably, these are undertunics or shirts of the type which could be tied or drawn in when worn. Cf. Lat. *strictoria*, a type of shirt/chemise (and clearly different from the shirt-types *singilio* and *stichē*, see Ed. Diocl. 19, 2. 11 etc.; 19, 47—49. 62), listed at Ed. Diocl. 7, 56; 22, 7; 29, 17. They are clearly not ties or laces for various items of clothing, pace HENDY, *Studies* 308. They could be issued in sets, like leggings (see on [C] 239 above), see (C) 295—296: σφιγκτούρια ἐκάστου ἱματίου πρὸς ἀναλογίαν; cf. *Typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos 1724: σφιγκτούρια τέσσαρα διὰ γραμμάτων χρυσῶν. For a κοντοσφιγκτουρον, see Prod. II 34 (and cf. IV 12d: μεταξοσφιγκτουρᾶτος); and see *Narratio de Sancta Sophia* 285, 9: τὸ σφιγκτούριον (a text probably of the later ninth century: see G. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des Patria*. Paris 1984, 265ff., 298—309).

(C) 241 θάλασσαι: cf. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 29, n. 9; 39; IDEM, *EEBΣ* 19 (1949) 104; but ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS is wrong in assuming that the *thalassa* was a *chlanidion* died in sea-purple, from which came the name: there were, after all, a wide range of garments died with sea-purple, but they were not all called *thalassai*. See ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *EEBΣ* 13 (1937) 89f.; IDEM, BBP VI 268. In fact, as the passage at De Cer. 578, 1—6 shows (see on [C] 240—241 above), the term referred to a pattern rather than a colour, probably the equivalent of the modern technical description “watered silk”, the effect obtained by a particular weave. Cf. Th. Cont. 19, 3—5: φοινικοβαφές θαιμάτιον κατὰ τι στρατιωτικὸν ἔθος ἄζωστον ἐπημφίετο (ἀετὸν τοῦτο καλοῦσιν ἢ θάλασσαν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα κομψοί) See also Prod. I 58. Alternatively, the term may refer to garments of “sea-wool” (ἐρέα θαλάσσια, cf. Ed. Diocl. 25, 6, for example), manufactured from the byssal threads produced by the marine mollusc *pinna nobilis*, the

fan-mussel, which had a particularly lustrous appearance. See SERJEANT, *Islamic Textiles* 10, 97; 15—16, 60; GOITEIN, *Med. Soc. I* 106: cf. *Proc., De Aedif. III* 1, 19—20. Possibly the term describes a garment shot through with this material, or of similar appearance.

(C) 242 ἀβδία πλατύλωρα και ἀβδία μασουρωτά: cf. *Ep. Bibl. V* 2: αὐδία; the term seems to derive from Arab. *‘abayeh*, a wide robe with broad black bands or stripes, cf. *Lisan al-‘Arab II* 674; E. L. LANE, ed., *Maddu-l-Ḳamoos*, an Arabic-English Lexicon. Book I, 1—5. London 1863—1874, see 1933, Art. *‘-b-’* and 1942, Art. *‘-b-y*. See REISKE, *Comm.* 553; Vogt, *Cér. II* 60, n. 1; and cf. *De Cer.* 607, 10. 12, where ἀβδία are associated with ἐσωφόρια λωρωτὰ Σαρακηνικά and with garments called μολχάμια, Arab. *mulhamma*. See SERJEANT, *Islamic Textiles* 9, 71. Byzantine terms and items of clothing were considerably influenced by Arabic styles and vocabulary — see *Ep. Bibl. V* 2: ἡ ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐρχομένη Σαρακηνική (*sc.* πραγματεία), εἶτε ἐσωφόρια εἶεν εἴτε αὐδία και φοουφούλια και θάλασσαι, φιλά τε χάμια και βαγδατίκια. See *De Cer.* 255, 8; and *Testament d’ Eustathios Boilas* 130—131; note also CEHE II 92ff. The description of these garments as broad-striped confirms the identification — see KOUKOU- LÈS, *BBP II/2*, 41. The *‘abayeh* was normally of wool (as it is today). See in general SERJEANT, *Islamic Textiles* 10, 91 ff., for the flourishing two-way trade in fabrics and clothing between the lands of the Caliphate and Byzantium.

(C) 242 μασουρωτά: “reeded”, i. e. with thin, reed-like stripes or bands; cf. Arab *masura*, pipe or tube; mod. Arab. bobbin (COWAN 889); and cf. mod. Greek τὸ μασούρι, a quill, reel, spool or bobbin. The alternative is that these garments, or this type and style of garment, came originally from Masoura in Pamphylia, see W. RUGE, *Art. Masura. RE XIV/2* (1930) 2179, or were of a style named after this area. See DIETHART, *Lexikalische Rara* 13/5. For the Arabic connection, see also SERJEANT, *Islamic Textiles* 13—14, 93 and n. 38.

(C) 243 ὑποκαμισοβράκια: cf. *Narratio de Sancta Sophia* 285, 9. Shirt and breeches, probably of linen. They were divided into two categories at least, διαφορώτερα and δεύτερα, see *De Cer.* 678, 4—5. For ὑποκάμισον/ἐπικάμισον, cf. KOUKOU- LÈS, *BBP VI* 102; 285; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 72, n. 4; and on *kamision* — a short, tunic-like shirt, see DU CANGE 563 s. v.; CH.-A. FABROT, *Gloss. ad Cedrenum*, in: *Cedre-*

nus II 907—908; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 166 and n. 139 with literature; ΚΑΗΑΝΕ, Western Impact 131. For *brakia* — Lat. *braccae*, Celt. *breac* — cf. DU CANGE 224 s. v. and ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ s. v.; Lexikographie 156 (STEINER). For both these elements in association, see also *Miracula S. Artemii* 23, 25. Note also REISKE's discussion, Comm. 554; and see Ed. Diocl. 7, 46 with Comm. 239.

(C) 243 ἐπιῤῥιπτάρια: hood or cowl; cf. REISKE, Comm. 555; DU CANGE 424 s. v.; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 128, n. 86; and see Th. Cont. 385, 21; Scylitzes 200, 27.

(C) 243—244 ὀξέα . . . τρίτα: three different classes of head wear; see on (B) 108—109 supra for the shade of purple; and cf. De Cer. 678, 6—7: διαφορώτερα, δεύτερα, τρίτα. The division of types of cloth and garment into a number of categories or classes — usually three — according to quality (of material and workmanship) was widespread and usual; cf. Ed. Diocl. 8, 1—2; 19, 17—18; 20, 5—6; 21, 3—6; 26, 1a—139 etc. It occurs throughout the *De caerimoniis* also.

(C) 244 ζωστρία: cf. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, BBP II/2, 51 for literature.

(C) 244 ψευδοξέα: “false” red purple — possibly a lighter shade; cf. for example, Ed. Diocl. 24, 3, where ὑποβλάττη appears to represent the same notion. Cf. also De Cer. 578, 20.

(C) 244—246: prices are given specifically for the three categories.

(C) 246 ἀδήμινα: see on (C) 181 above. The reference suggests that this leather may have been especially tanned and dyed. Note that shoes and boots are also classified in three groups: cf. De Cer. 678, 9—10; Ed. Diocl. 9, 5a—25.

(C) 247 βουλγιδίους: Lat./Celt. *bulga*, sack; DU CANGE 215—216 s. v.; Suidas III 178, 18—19; Lexikographie 161 (STEINER).

(C) 247 διασακκίους: DU CANGE 314 s. v.

(C) 247—249 ταῦτα δὲ . . . ἀποστέλλεσθαι: the provision of gifts and presents to oil the wheels of diplomacy as well as to smooth the course of military expeditions was an important aspect of Byzantine relations with foreign powers, great and small. Cf. DAI proem. 17—18; 1, 18—20; 4, 9—10; Kekaumenos 12, 9sq. (LITVARIN 140,

14sq.); see LOUNGHIS, *Les ambassades* 255ff., and cf. the list of presents sent to Hugh along with the expedition to Lombardy in 913, *De Cer.* 661, 13—662, 11; and the comments of HENDY, *Studies* 268—270.

(C) 250 *πρόκριτα, καθαρά*: of first quality and “pure”, i. e. of pure silk rather than a mixed yarn.

(C) 252 *ἀμφοτέρα*: cf. REISKE, *Comm.* 500—501.

(C) 252 *μετὰ περσικίων*: with pockets or pouches (attached), cf. REISKE, *Comm.* 386; KOUKOULÈS, *BBP* II/2, 55; DU CANGE 1158 s. v.; GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 348—350. HENDY, *Studies* 308 and n. 255, has argued that these are in fact batons or processional insignia, presumably Persian in origin. But the only evidence for this meaning is of the sixth century, where τὸ περσίκιον/τὰ περσίκια clearly are ceremonial insignia of some sort, see *De Cer.* 395, 7; 397, 8; 414, 10—11 (and compare with 700, 17—18, likewise from the sixth century); and Lydus, *De Mag.* 64, 16—17. Later references all seem to bear the meaning suggested here; see, for example, *Prod.* I 103; IV 33; *Narratio de Sancta Sophia* 285, 7; although the term, both as an adjective and as a substantive, could be used of both a colour (*Ep. Bibl.* IV; VIII) and a type of shoe (*Suidas* IV 115, 16—17).

(C) 257—260 *σφιγκτούρια ... βασιτάζεσθαι*: this repeats information already given at (C) 241sq., but must apply specifically to the thematic *tourmarchai*, and to other “refugees”.

(C) 261sq.: this section introduces material to be transported by the *eidikon* (see [C] 286sq.) before adding final details of materials carried by the *vestiarion* and the *hypourgia* ([C] 275sq.).

(C) 261 *εἰς φιλοφρόνησιν τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων*: cash rewards, both before and after the completion of a campaign and battles, as well as rewards in kind — particularly in the form of richly-decorated clothing — were usual devices for ensuring good morale and loyalty. See HALDON, *Praetorians* 317—318 and notes 957—961; cf. *De Cer.* 668, 19sq. and (C) 501—511. Note also (B) 96—97; and on (C) 805—807 *infra*; Leo, *Tact.* XX 85.

(C) 262—263 κεντηνάρια, μιλιάρησια, σακκία: respectively sealed sums of gold *nomismata* and silver *miliarēsia* in sacks, issued in units of 100 pounds or less. See HENDY, *Coinage and Money* 303—309; IDEM, *Studies* 338ff.; SCHILBACH, *Metrologie* 171; 184—185.

(C) 263 τοῖς φυλάσσουσι σχολαρίους: the context suggests that the term *scholarioi* is used here in the wider sense of *tagmatikoi*, i. e. to mean soldiers from all of the *tagmata* (see on [B] 82 supra); see HALDON, *Praetorians* 549, n. 793; 602, n. 1001. In fact, soldiers of the *Vigla* itself are probably meant here.

(C) 263 εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν φῖναν: Lat. *finis, finem*, perimeter/edge. See below on (C) 420 etc.; DU CANGE 1679 s. v. φῖναι; REISKE, *Comm.* 557—558; see *De Cer.* 23, 19. 21. By extension it also meant the guards or sentries themselves: see (C) 542—543: δύο φῖναι κυκλοῦσιν τὴν βασιλικὴν κόρτην; also (C) 281—282; DAGRON, *Phocas* 91 and n. 5; 216.

(C) 263—264 τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἀγούροις: the group of young men — sons of imperial officers, of provincial notables etc. — sent to court to gain admission to imperial patronage and the palatine hierarchy through attendance on the emperor. Nicephorus I formed the original *tagma* of the *Hikanatoi* from such courtiers. See HALDON, *Praetorians* 245—246 and references. The βασιλικοὶ ἄγουροι seem to be the same group as the palatine corps of the ἀρχοντογεννήματα (*De Cer.* 558, 5; 578, 16sq.; 693, 6). For a less formal use of the term *agouroi*, see *Dig. Akr.* 4, 47, where it refers to company or “esquires”.

(C) 264: for the *Hetaireia*, see HALDON, *Praetorians* 252 and n. 683; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 327—328 with literature. By the time of Basil I the *Hetaireia* was divided into at least two distinct groups, one under a μικρὸς ἑταιρειάρχης. By the early tenth century these sub-groups included also companies of Turkic mercenaries — *Pharganoi* and Chazars; see OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 327 and n. 237 and references. The juxtapositioning of the imperial *agouroi* with those ἐπὶ τῆς ἑταιρείας (the usual description of members of this corps who had purchased their position in return for an imperial *roga*: cf. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 176, n. 170 and references) suggests that these are not part of the active unit, but rather titular members of the corps; although later evidence suggests that the μεγάλη ἑταιρεία

which accompanied the emperor on such campaigns was an active unit. See Anon. *Vári* 5, 4; 7, 17 (DENNIS 1, 99sq. 161sq.); HALDON, *Praetorians* 605, n. 1014.

(C) 265 εὐσέβειαν: in the sense of munificence, generosity; see REISKE, *Comm.* 558; LAMPE s. v. εὐσέβεια (H). Ai. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόμεναι καὶ στέψεις τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. Athens 1956, esp. 138; CONSTANTELOS, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* 43ff., see 46; 50; and cf. *Klet. Phil.* 99, 4sq.; and note *Alexiad* XII 3, 9.

(C) 267 μετὰ Ἰσκάς: cf. Lat. *esca*; Leo, *Tact.* V 4. See REISKE, *Comm.* 558, and ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *EEBS* 19 (1949) 87.

(C) 268 κανδήλας: Lat. *candela*, oil lamp; cf. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* II/2, 93; and cf. *Klet. Phil.* 131, 6—7: τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον τοῦ πολυκανδήλου; *ibid.* 130, n. 90; and note REISKE, *Comm.* 656; ΚΑΗΑΝΕ, *Abendland und Byzanz* 526; *Ed. Diocl.* 36, 33 and *Comm.* 283.

(C) 268 τὸν κοιτῶνα: the imperial bedchamber, under the charge of the *parakoimōmenos* with his staff of *koitōnitai*. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, *Préséance* 305 and notes 91—93; note also 301. There were twelve *koitōnitai* on this expedition — see (C) 376.

(C) 269 τὸ κουκουμίλιν: see on (C) 214—216: the privy.

(C) 269 τὸ παρακοιτωνάριον: the chamber of the *parakoimōmenos* (see above) and the *koitōnitai*. See (C) 274: ἔνθα οἱ κοιτωνῖται μένουσιν.

(C) 270—271 ὀφείλει δὲ . . . κοσκινωτῶν: these λάκκοι (there are several, cf. σκεπάζονται; and [C] 304: τοὺς λάκκους) appear to be troughs or large, flat-bottomed vats, in which the lamps and so forth can be set at night (cf. the alternative meaning for *lakkos*, a cistern, for example, ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* IV 315—316; DU CANGE 783 s. v.), rather than pits or holes in the ground, since they are apparently brought along with the rest of the equipment. See REISKE, *Comm.* 559.

(C) 272 πρὸς ἓν: see REISKE, *Comm.* 571; and cf. (C) 530, 655—656.

(C) 272 φανάρια: lanterns with sieve-like wind-guards or frames. For the illumination of the imperial pavilion, cf. Alexiad I 7, 5.

(C) 272 ὠρολόγιον: "clock", possibly of the classical Roman *klepsydra* type; cf. EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 13; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* II/2, 89—90; but see REISKE, *Comm.* 559—562, who prefers a mechanical (clock-work) device. While the latter seems unlikely, an alternative to both will have been the traditional marked candle within a frame or container; and in respect of convenience, this may be what is referred to here. For the fixed *hōrologia* in Constantinople, see JANIN, *CPByz.* 102—103; and for a discussion of water-clocks, see A. DIELS, *Antike Technik*. Osnabrück 71965, 204—232; and A. REHM, *Art. Horologium*. *RE* VIII (1913) 2416—2433, see 2428ff.

(C) 275 σκουτέλλια: Lat. *scutella*, plate.

(C) 275 μινσουράκια: μινσουρία/ἀπαλαρέα; cf. Lat. *mensura*, measuring jug; cf. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, *Préséance* 275 and n. 43; *Lexikographie* 60 (DIETHART) and 163 (STEINER); note also *De Them.* I 37—38, for sculpted silver jugs in the imperial *vestiarion*.

(C) 275—276 ὀρθομίλια: τρύβλιον, a cup or bowl; cf. *Pantokratōr Typikon* 354; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *Epist. Ep. Phil. Schol. Pan. Ath.* 5 (1954/55) 57; *IDEM*, *BBP* V 161. — These items, all of gold, are clearly for formal occasions only, as the texts make clear. Since they were to be used only on such occasions, they were carried by the *vestiarion*. See EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 82—83; and, for example, *De Cer.* 582, 19—22.

(C) 281 δύο φῖναι: i. e. two perimeter guards detachments. See on (C) 263 above.

(C) 282—283 οἱ δὲ μάγιστροι καὶ οἱ πατρίκιοι καὶ οἱ ὄφφικιάλιοι: see on (B) 58 and (C) 93.

(C) 284 τοὺς ἀκλήτους: i. e. at the regular meals, for which no invitation was required (κλήσις), as opposed to the κλητόρια for invited guests. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, *Préséance* 27 and n. 29; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 80—81.

(C) 284—285 τοῖς πραιποσίτοις: the title of *praipositos* was bestowed as a dignity (like those of *patrikios* and *magistros*) but was, in theory

at least, open only to eunuchs; although a dignity, it seems to have been fairly closely restricted to palatine personnel, and had certain functions in connection with imperial ceremonial and the imperial service attached. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 300 and literature. The *praipositoï* were attached to the imperial *kouboukleïon* (*cubiculum*), which meant, by the ninth century, service in the court and on the emperor's person — the *koitōn* and its staff constituted the bedchamber proper. The *kouboukleïon* and the *praipositoï* are often associated with the *silentiarioï* and the *epi tēs katastaseōs*. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 301; 298, n. 69; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur s. t.; and Klet. Phil. 129, 7—9 and notes 83—84. Note (C) 485sq.; and esp. (C) 798sq.

(C) 286 Διὰ τοῦ εἰδικοῦ σαγμαρία μς': from this point up to (C) 311 there follows a list of material to be transported by the bureau of the *eidikon*.

(C) 287 ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος: that is, from the treasury of the bedchamber; see DÖLGER, Finanzverwaltung 25, n. 3; DAI 50, 53 and note; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 305.

(C) 287 χάραγμα: coined money. See DÖLGER, Finanzverwaltung 77.

(C) 289 εἰς τὴν φῖναν: in the sense of enclosure, imperial area. See on (C) 263 supra.

(C) 289—290 ἱμάτια . . . δεκάλια . . . ἐξάλια: REISKE, Comm. 562—563, suggests that this refers to the number of ounces of gold thread employed in the weaving of such garments — the greater the amount of gold the more valuable the item. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈΣ, *Epist. Ep. Phil. Schol. Pan. Ath.* 5 (1954/55) 58, prefers the notion of the number or the fineness of the threads woven into the garment, relating this to the terms ἐξάπωλα, δεκάπωλα, δωδεκάπωλα (see on [C] 226 supra). While this explanation has some relevance for the latter, it does not fit with what is known of the former. Given the fact that the garments described as *dekalia* etc. are contrasted with those garments not purchased on the market; and the fact that they are otherwise similar to those already described (cf., e. g. [C] 253—254: ἱμάτια . . . δίσχιστα μανιακάτα . . .), the probability is that the terms *dekalia*/*hexalia* describe their market- or sale value, that is, of ten

nomismata, of six *nomismata*, and so on. Note in addition that, in contrast to garments described as *δεκάπωλον* etc., those described as *dekalia*, *ennalia*, etc. increase in value as the number qualifying them increases; cf. Ep. Bibl. IX 6, where it is permitted to exchange only *βλαττία ἐξάλια ἢ ἐλάττονα* (described as *τὰ ἐπιζητούμενα εἶδη*) for Bulgar imports. The *-alion/-ia* ending here clearly relates to a monetary valuation.

(C) 290 *ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου*: in contrast to the garments produced “at home”, i. e. in imperial workshops or by state commission. See on (C) 226 *supra*. These garments were purchased by the state in Constantinople through the various *systemata* responsible.

(C) 290—291 *λωρωτὰ μεταξωτὰ Αἰγυπτικά*: either of Egyptian silk, or in Egyptian style, or of Egyptian provenance. Since they were bought on the market, the likelihood is that they were (expensive) imports — the fact that they were intended specifically as gifts for foreigners might support this. Note the *τουβία λωρωτὰ Αἰγυπτικά* at De Cer. 678, 7. Garments of varying types and styles were imported into the empire, apparently on a large scale: cf. Ep. Bibl. V 2, for example. See on (C) 242 above. Egyptian stuffs were particularly sought after: SERJEANT, *Islamic Textiles* 15—16, 88ff.

(C) 291 *ἀληθινὰ ἐνθάδια*: i. e. *ἱμάτια . . . ἀληθινὰ . . .*; of local (Byzantine) and not imported (e. g. Egyptian) production and style, purple-dyed.

(C) 294—295 *βαμβακερὰ ἀληθινὰ ἐνθάδια καὶ πράσινα*: see Ep. Bibl. IX 1 for the cotton merchants and the sources of cotton: the Pontos, Kerasous and the Strymōn region. Note that cotton was used by the *vestiopratai* to line silk garments — Ep. Bibl. IX 1; and see REISKÉ, *Comm.* 564.

(C) 295—296, 297—298 *σφιγκτούρια . . . πρὸς ἀναλογίαν, τουβία . . . πρὸς ἀναλογίαν*: these are, therefore, matching sets of clothing, matched by colour and value, together with hoods, belts, boots and so on. See also De Cer. 677, 16—17.

(C) 298 *σάβανα*: see on (C) 222 above. This material was used for towels as well as for garments; here they are divided into three classes (note Ed. Diocl. 29, 57—65, where “Gallic” and other *sabana*

are likewise divided into three categories according to quality. Note *ibid.* 29, 63—64: “*sabana* . . . of coarse linen for the use of ordinary people”). What the “accompaniments” were is difficult to say; but if *sabana* is here to be interpreted as garments, then the accompanying elements might consist of items such as described here in the text: leggings, belts etc. Note also BERGER, *Das Bad* 119, n. 44.

(C) 300—301 τὰ μὲν βλαττία . . . τὰ δὲ λοιπά: the distinction is between those garments of superior quality and of pure silk, and those such as the striped *lōrōta*, which were less pure. See on (C) 173 *supra*. Again, the garments and fittings of lesser value are packed in sacks, in contrast to the more luxurious packing provided for the valuable items. See (C) 230—232, 237sq., 246—247. The (tenth-century) Arab geographer Mukaddasi described remarkably similar packings for precious Egyptian cloths. See SERJEANT, *Islamic Textiles* 13—14, 94—95.

(C) 302—308: this section repeats and augments, with slightly different details, information already given — see on (C) 267sq. above. This time two *phanaria* are specified (cf. [C] 272), but only two bronze oil-lamps (cf. [C] 268: three silver, three bronze) for τὰ βασιλικὰ πεντζιμέντα (Lat. *impedimentum*: cf. BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek* 71; and e. g. DAI 9, 56), that is to say, for the imperial baggage (meaning the tent, bedchamber and staff etc.). Where the deeper *lakkos* of two spans is concerned, this has two torches, two tapers and a bronze lantern; as opposed to three tapers and bronze lanterns (see [C] 272). For φάτλια ([C] 307, torch) see Pantokratōr *Typikon* 1022; De Cer. 554, 9 (also as taper: De Cer. 349, 15; 439, 6; 440, 3. 7; 602, 21—22); *Narratio de Sancta Sophia* 101, 10; and DU CANGE 1668 s. v.; 1673 — φητίλιν; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 90; and S. FRÄNKEL, *Orientalisches im Byzantinischen*. *BZ* 3 (1894) 155. Cf. Arab. *fatīl* (see *Lisan al-‘Arab* II 1048; COWAN 695). The word comes back into Greek through Turkish *fitil*, from the Arabic, to mean “wick” (τὸ φυτόλι).

(C) 308 διὰ τὰς ἀνακυπτούσας χρείας τῆ νυκτί: see on (C) 214—216 above.

(C) 309 κηρούλια διόγκια: candles were measured by weight, cf. Lat. *uncia*, an ounce (one twelfth of a silver pound). On the gradual replacement of oil lamps by candles for day-to-day use, see

C. MANGO, Addendum to the Report on Everyday Life. *JÖB* 32/1 (1982) (= Akten des XVI. internat. Byz.-Kongresses 2/1) 255—256. Cf. Pantokratōr Typikon 166—180: κηρία . . . τετραούγγια/ἑξαούγγια/ὀκταούγγια/λιτραῖα; and Theotokos Kecharitōmenē Typikon 1596; 1602: κηρία τετραούγγια. For the Roman and Byzantine ounce (equivalent to 1/12 litra) see SCHILBACH, Metrologie 181 ff.

(C) 309 ὁ δρουγγάριος: i. e. τῆς βίγλης, in charge of camp security. See on (B) 119—120 and (C) 420 infra.

(C) 310 τὸ κέρκετον: the watch/patrol; see V. Andreae Sali 649 A—B for the street patrol of Constantinople; and Anon. Vári 10, 8sq. (DENNIS 3, 35sq.): τὰ κέρκιτα; 12, 15 (DENNIS 4, 26): κερκιτεύονται; Niceph., Praec. 20, 7. See DAGRON, Phocas 215, n. 1.

(C) 312sq.: The text now returns to a more detailed version of the procedures already described at (B) 80sq., and which commenced at (C) 54.

(C) 312 εἰς Πύλας: situated at Çiftlik Köyü, 4,5 km east of Yalova, on the southern shore of the Gulf of İzmit. See JANIN, Grands centres 100; and C. MANGO, review of JANIN, Grands centres, in: *BZ* 71 (1978) 113—116, see 115. Cf. De Them. IV 11; PERTUSI, at De Them. 129; RAMSAY 187. It was the main disembarkation point for imperial expeditions into Anatolia, as well as being an *entrepôt* for trade in crops and livestock. See HENDY, Studies 55.

(C) 313 τὴν προμοσέλλαν: see on (C) 108 above.

(C) 313—314 τὸν δομέστικον τῶν ὀπιμάτων: see (C) 92 above.

(C) 315—316 δύο βασιλικούς: see on (B) 109—110 above; and HALDON, Praetorians 296—297 and notes; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, Préséance 328.

(C) 316—317 καὶ εἰς τὸν Λευκάτην . . . πρὸς τὸν Λευκάτην: Cape Leukatēs (Yelkenkaya Burnu) at the entrance to the Gulf of Nikomēdeia, on the northern side. Ships following the northern coast from Constantinople or Chalcedon would pass close to the Cape on their way to Pylai, which was situated more or less diagonally opposite, to the South-East. Unless the account here is garbled, and the second

mention of Leukatēs should read Pylai, it suggests that the first *basilikos* went to Pylai to supervise the disembarcation of the troops and equipment there, before sailing to Leukatēs, where he could supervise the return of the vessels (? to Constantinople). Leukatēs produced cherries for the market in Constantinople during the twelfth century — and presumably before (see Prod. II 65b); it was also the site of the supposed massacre by Justinian II of Slav families in 692/693: *παρὰ τῷ λεγομένῳ Λευκάτῃ, τόπω κρημνῶδει καὶ παραθαλασσίῳ κατὰ τὸν Νικομηδείασιον κόλπον κειμένῳ . . .* (Theoph. 366, 22—23); and the monasteries of Nikētiatēs and Pelekanos were situated in the vicinity. See JANIN, *Églises et monastères* 94—95; 425; and maps, *ibid.*, 82 and *opp.* p. 1.

(C) 318 *εἰς Σάγγαρον καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Σαβῖνον*: the river Saggarios (mod. Sakarya) flowing down from the central plateau into the Black Sea to the East of Kefken, curving past Nikaia and Nikomēdeia. The bridge built by Justinian over the river was famous. See De Them. V 17sq., and PERTUSI, at De Them. 133 and literature; also M. WHITBY, Justinian's Bridge over the Sangarios and the Date of Procopius' De Aedificiis. *JHS* 105 (1985) 129—148. The localisation of Agios Sabinos is difficult — possibly on the road to Malagina. Note that there were imperial *xenodocheia* at both Pylai and Sangarios, as well as at Nikomēdeia (cf. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 318; and Klet. Phil. 123, 17—19) and that the first two were on the imperial route from Pylai, via Nikaia, to the first *aplēkton* at Malagina. See HENDY, *Studies*, map 24. Agios Sabinos may therefore be another, otherwise unattested imperial *xenodocheion*, possibly near Nikaia. The imperial official referred to here is sent ahead to make sure that each establishment is prepared for the emperor's arrival. See JANIN, *Grands centres* 108 (map) with text. It is just possible that ἅγιος Σαβῖνος is a copyist's error for the monastery τὰ Εὐσεβίου: see JANIN, *Grands centres* 93; and C. MANGO, The Pilgrimage Centre of St. Michael at Germia. *JÖB* 36 (1986) 117—132, see 124, n. 11.

(C) 318—319 *προαποστέλλει . . . εἰς Πύλας*: that is, the remaining imperial officers, along with the Constantinopolitan officials and soldiers. See on (B) 82 above.

(C) 319—321 *καὶ μαγίστρους . . . μετ' αὐτοῦ*: selected higher officials — commanders of the *tagmata*, chiefs of the various palatine *logothē-*

sia and *sekreta*, who accompanied him on the expedition, and so on. See on (B) 81, 110–111 *supra*; and for the various bureaux and others accompanying the emperor, see on (B) 107. For *magistroi* and *patrikioi* in general, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 294—295.

(C) 321 τὰ δρομώνια: see DAI 51, Comm. and esp. 195—196; AHRWEILER, Mer 411ff. Basil I used such warships for longer journeys and progresses, and there existed a standing flotilla of ten vessels, as well as imperial barges, distinct from the imperial fleet, or βασιλικοπλώϊμον, assigned to the emperor's personal use. Leo VI's reign saw a number of changes, including the commissioning of two *dromōnia* used as pleasure ships for both longer and shorter journeys and progresses.

(C) 321—324 καὶ ἀπὸ ἱκανοῦ διαστήματος . . . οὕτως: cf. (B) 91 *supra*. For κατασφραγίζειν, see VOGT, Cér. Comm. I 52—53; Theoph. 162, 3; V. Theod. Syk. 91, 11 and commentary 230; LAMPE s. v. κατασφραγίζειν (4b); and for an explanation as to why the emperor should be looking East when facing Constantinople, see REISKE, Comm. 565 (who argues that the emperor departs from a port such as Rhegion, for example, which would permit this). Alternatively, of course — and the text would not contradict this — the emperor may first have prayed, while facing East, before blessing the City, which he turned to face after his address to God.

(C) 322 κρᾶββάτου: REISKE, Comm. 565, thought the term referred to the ship's cabin or captain's quarters. In view of the verb used — ἐγείρεται — this seems unlikely. Couch or divan seems just as probable.

(C) 324—331 «Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ . . . ἀμήν»: many of the concerns mentioned here are repeated from (B) 84sq. Note the similar sentiments expressed in an undated inscription near to the Rhegion Gate (see JANIN, CPByz. 279): Χριστέ, ὁ Θεός, ἀτάραχον καὶ ἀπολέμ(η)τον φύλατ(τ)ε [τῆ]ν πόλιν σου, ν(ι)κα[ς δωρ]σούμενος [τοῖ]ς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμ(ῶ)ν. The prayer is reminiscent of certain liturgical texts, and may be taken from such a context. See ΠΑΝΑΓΙΟΤΑΚΙΣ, at Theodosios Diakonos 154, comm. to 66; and the text; and cf., for example, ΜΑΤΕΟΣ, Typicon II 202, 6—11. Compare Heraclius' prayer and commendation of the City to God and the Virgin on his departure in 622,

recorded in the homily attributed to Theodore Synkellos: Περὶ τῶν ἀθέων Ἀβάρων . . . ἀναχωρήσεως, in: A. ΜΑΙ, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* VI. Rome 1853, 423—437, see 426. Cf. 2 Cor. 1, 9—11.

(C) 332—333 τὰ τε παρίππια καὶ τὰ μωλάρια: this is the equivalent of lines (C) 334—335: τὰ τε σαγμάρια καὶ τὰ παρίππια, i. e. σαγμάρια = μωλάρια (and other pack-animals), while παρίππια = horses. See on (C) 65 supra; and note REISKE, *Comm.* 565—566.

(C) 333—334 διατάσσεται . . . χαρτουλαρίῳ: see on (B) 53 supra; the *chartoullarios* in question is presumably that of the stables in Constantinople rather than of those at Malagina.

(C) 334 κομπινεύση: see on (C) 158. The verb means “to team up”.

(C) 335sq.: the *Optimatoi* constituted a support unit for the *tagmata* and the imperial baggage; they were commanded by a low-ranking *domestikos*, equivalent to the thematic *domestikoi* under their *stratēgoi*, and organised along similar lines to the *tagmata* proper, although with elements of thematic provincial administrative organisation — as the presence of a *kagkellarios* on the staff of the *domestikos* suggests. See HALDON, *Praetorians* 223—225 and notes. Note the reference to the record of name and village, emphasising the “thematic” aspect of their organisation.

(C) 338 τὰς σφραγίδας: each load was apparently given an official seal which had to be handed in as proof of safe, and untampered with, delivery.

(C) 339—340 κατὰ δέκα σαγμάρια . . . Μαλαγίνων: i. e. experienced stablehands from Malagina (there were also *syntrophoi* from the stables at Constantinople, see De Cer. 698, 22) to check harness, loads etc. of the pack-animals. The *Optimatoi* themselves were essentially “unskilled” labourers in this context. There were forty such *syntrophoi* in all. See (C) 384.

(C) 341 τὰ γομάρια: cf. γόμος; Ed. Diocl. 14, 9—11 and *Comm.* 253; DU CANGE s. v. 255—256; see SCHILBACH, *Metrologie* 170: the *gomos* was reckoned at 12 *modioi*, or 96 kg.

(C) 342—343 ὁ σφραμεντάριος: responsible with the *chartoullarios* of Malagina for pasturing the animals. See on (C) 71 above.

(C) 345 τὸ βούκινον: Lat. *bucinum*. Cf. Maurice, *Strat.* II 17, 1ff.; Anon. *Vári* 6, 1 (DENNIS 1, 120); Niceph., *Praec.* 15, 23 etc.

(C) 348—349 ἅμα τῷ κελλαρίῳ: i. e. the *kellarios* of the stable. See on (B) 53 and (C) 117—118, 137 above.

(C) 349—350 ἐκ τοῦ πρωτονοταρίου τοῦ θέματος: as well as providing for the personnel of the expedition, of course (see [C] 533sq., and De Cer. 658, 8—16; 659, 12—14), the thematic *prōtonotarios* was also responsible for provisioning their animals. He was notified in advance and deposited the required fodder at the appropriate *aplēkta*, according to the route followed by the expedition. See on (B) 103 above. Note that according to De Cer. 659, 7sq. an imperial official might also be sent out to raise extra supplies or organise the transportation of such supplies for the army or for a particular expedition. See also HALDON, *Praetorians* 314—316 and esp. n. 951. For normal thematic expeditions, the *stratēgos* and his staff were expected to ensure the availability of adequate supplies, replacement mounts, and so forth, without central assistance. See, for example, Leo, *Tact.* XX 63.

(C) 353sq.: the count of the stable took charge of the fodder delivered by the *prōtonotarios*, noting down, together with the *eidikos logothetēs* and the *notarioi*, the amount. The thematic *prōtonotarios* and *chartouarios* later submitted a claim, which was checked against the sums noted down by the *eidikos*, so that the *thema* in question was exempted from state obligations in proportion to the value or amount of the materials supplied to the expedition. It is unclear whether the *chartouarios* in question belonged to the stable at Malagina (see on [B] 53 supra) or to the *thema* from which the fodder was supplied. The probability is that he belonged to the stables. See HALDON, *Praetorians* 315f. and literature. For the thematic *chartouarioi*, see AHRWEILER, *Recherches* 43 and literature; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 314; 341. Like the *chartouarioi* of the *tagmata*, they were under the general authority of the *logothetēs tou stratiōtikou*, and their duties were concerned with, in the words of Leo VI (*Tact.* IV 31): τὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ καταγραφήν τε καὶ ἀναζήτησιν. See HALDON, *Praetorians* 552, n. 810; and for a full account, R. GUILLAND, *Chartulaire et grand chartulaire. Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 9 (1971) 405—426, see 408ff. (= IDEM, *Titres et fonctions* XVIII).

(C) 353 *ξενάλια*: meaning gifts in only the loosest possible sense; these are clearly standard requirements for expeditions, for which the *thema* is given relief in subsequent fiscal periods.

(C) 354 *ἐν καταγραφῇ*: see (C) 336; and Klet. Phil. 113, 24: this was standard technical usage for a departmental record or log-book.

(C) 356 *καταστόλιον*: *καταστέλλω/καταστολή*, see REISKE, Comm. 567; and (C) 439: with the sense of a “standing down” of the expedition; or the withdrawal of the expedition back to its quarters. Cf. Kekau-
menos 18, 25 (LITAVRIN 154, 3).

(C) 360—361 *διὰ τοῦ κόμητος . . . ὑπουργίας*: there were a number of *komites* under the authority of the *domestikos* of the *Optimatoi* and his *topotērētēs*, cf. Klet. Phil. 119, 25; and on (C) 335sq. supra. This one, with his detachment of 200 men, was seconded to the baggage-train of the imperial household service.

(C) 362—363 *ἐν καταγραφῇ . . . παρασυρομένων*: again, the *Optimatoi* are recorded. These 100 horses are provided by the monasteries, see on (C) 110 supra.

(C) 365: for the 80 pack-animals, see (C) 137. The remaining 20 followed, to keep the packs in place. See on the *syntrophoi* of Malagina at (C) 339—340 and cf. (C) 526—528.

(C) 374—375 *τῶν ἑβδομαρίων*: officials of the *eidikon*, organised in groups or “weeks” after their duty roster. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Pré-séance 130 and n. 89 with literature; Klet. Phil. 123, 9; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙ-
ΔÈS, ibid. 318, surmises that they guarded precious objects carried by the *eidikon*. See also (C) 538.

(C) 376—377 *τῶν σαράκοντα τῶν παρισταμένων τῇ τραπέζῃ*: see on (B) 117 above.

(C) 382—383 *διὰ τοῦ σταβλοκόμητος . . . σταβλοκομήτων*: three officials subordinate to the imperial *prōtostratōr* (cf. Klet. Phil. 121, 29—32), in charge of the imperial riding and processional horses. One was apparently based in Constantinople, the other two probably at Malagina. Cf. Theoph. 473, 24—27; and infra on (C) 580.

(C) 383 *πολιτικὰ ἵππάρια*: imperial riding horses from the stables at

Constantinople (cf. πολιτικοὶ κριταί as opposed to θεματικοὶ κριταί); cf. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 322, n. 203; and cf. De Cer. 105, 23: τῆς πολιτικῆς τὸ μέρος τῶν πρασίνων; and 106, 3. 8. 10 etc. in contrast to ὁ περατικὸς δῆμος (105, 19 etc.).

(C) 387—388 διὰ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ . . . σαγμάρια δύο: for the transporting of the military *kōdikēs* or muster-rolls. See HALDON, Praetorians 498, n. 573; 577, n. 929. See also 220 and notes; and on the *stratiōtikōn logothesion*, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 314.

(C) 388 διὰ τοῦ δεκανοῦ: the *dekanos* was an official in the bureau of the *prōtoasēkrētēs*. See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 310—311; Klet. Phil. 123, 4. He probably served as expeditionary notary or secretary, in particular for the issue and validation of imperial edicts, grants, exemptions and so forth during the emperor's absence from Constantinople.

(C) 389 διὰ τῶν δ' παπάδων: to serve in the imperial chapel which accompanied the expedition, carried by the *vestiarion*, and to otherwise minister to the emperor's personal liturgical and spiritual needs. See on (C) 183 above.

(C) 389 ὁμοῦ . . . υπβ': the figures actually add up to 481 and not 482; probably the 2 *stablokomētes* should have 2 *sagmaria*, and the text should read ἀνά σαγμάριον α'.

(C) 392 φββ': but 581 if the above suggestion is incorrect.

(C) 392 τὰ παρίππια τὰ κομπινευθέντα υ': in fact, the total listed comes to 378, excluding the missing quota for the 200 soldiers of the *Hetaireia* (line [C] 378) who should, according to the example of the ἔθνηκοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑταιρείας ([C] 378—379) have 200 *parippia*. REISKE, in accordance with the total given in the text, supplies these 200 men with the missing number of animals, although he gives 24 instead of 22. While this fits the grand total given here, it seems an unusually small number of pack-animals for such a large number of men.

(C) 392—394 ἰππάρια . . . ,απς': i. e. including the led horses, the total amounts to 1086, made up as follows: (a) 482 *sagmaria*; (b) 100 *sagmaria*; (c) 400 *hipparia*; (d) 104 *sagmaria*.

Taking the figures given in the text at face-value, groups (a), (b) and (c) are listed at (C) 389, 391, 392 and total 982 animals. The remaining group of 104 animals (d) must therefore be made up of those provided by the metropolitans and bishops, see (C) 104—105. These are specified as *mōlaria*. Group (b), of 100 *sagmaria*, must therefore be the animals provided by the monasteries, see (C) 362—363 and (C) 110 *supra*. They are specified as *hipparia* in these references, but at (C) 390—391 simply as *sagmaria*. There are in addition to all of these a further 30 imperial saddle horses from the Constantinopolitan stable (see on [C] 126—127 above) and 20 horses brought as gifts to the emperor during the expedition: see (C) 126—127; and (C) 394 for the 30 saddle horses.

(C) 395—398 καὶ ὅσα . . . ἄλογα: see (C) 347sq.

(C) 399 διτάγιν: double fodder allowance (or two feeds per day).

(C) 399 τριτάγιν: triple fodder allowance, or three feeds per day. The *sellaria* are clearly the more valuable animals (see on [C] 65 above).

(C) 399 ὁ δὲ ἐπέικτης: on the staff of the *komēs* of the stable. See OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 339 and notes; and on (B) 53 above.

(C) 400 τὰ καπίστρια: to be understood as “harness” in the wider sense, possibly in contrast to καπιτζάλια ([C] 133 *supra*; see on [C] 84 above).

(C) 402 θέσπισμα . . . βασιλικόν: cf. DÖLGER-KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Urkundenlehre* 75; 80ff.; 109 and n. 3. From the context, this sounds like an official ruling or *rescriptum* issued to cover certain specific administrative problems. Cf. also DÖLGER, *Byz. Diplomantik* 48; 121ff.; and Theoph. 399, 24; 360, 4; 180, 18 etc. and esp. *Klet. Phil.* 235, 2. On the rescript, see L. WENGER, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts*. Wien 1953, 426ff.; 463—464.

(C) 402—403 χαριστικὴν: a gift, cf. χαρίζω; DAI 13, 53: to grant as a gift (as a result of one's generosity). The term also bore a more technical meaning, of course, with regard to the granting of Church and monastic property *in usufructu*. Cf. OSTROGORSKY, *Geschichte* 307—308 and notes 3 and 4; AHRWEILER, *Charisticariat*; LEMERLE, *Charisticaires*; KAPLAN, *Monastères*, esp. 71—73 with literature.

(C) 407—410: the point being that persons with branded animals could profit at the expense of the *promosella* by illegally palming old and unfit animals off in return for younger, fitter, beasts.

(C) 411—414 ὀφείλει δὲ . . . ῥίπτουσιν αὐτά: the maximum load of 8 *modioi* was imposed to prevent the animals being overburdened (and consequently unable to complete the journey) and to prevent the carrying of excessive amounts of unnecessary baggage. The implication is that the extra loads were the personal property of the members of the force. Compare Anon. *Vári* 26, 1sq. (DENNIS 15, 2sq.); 27, 18sq. (DENNIS 17, 2sq.).

(C) 416—417 περιπατεῖν . . . οὕτως: this to ensure that all was prepared for the emperor well in advance of his arrival — note (C) 162sq. The procedure was clearly seen as optional — ἐὰν κελεύει ὁ βασιλεύς — and was possible only inside imperial territory, that is, when the expeditionary force still had the appearance of a ceremonial progress through the provinces, rather than a fully-fledged military undertaking.

(C) 420 Περὶ τῶν κερκέτων: Lat. *circitum*, cf. DU CANGE 639 s. v. The term is an equivalent for ἡ βίγλα, Lat. *vigilia*, watch, and by extension, guard, patrol, picket. The night-patrol in Constantinople was thus called (HALDON, *Praetorians* 541, n. 769; and *supra* on [C] 310). In this context, it refers to the sentries and patrols or rounds made by the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla*. For a thorough and systematic account of the descriptions of Byzantine military camps of this period, and of the sources dealing with the subject, see KOLIAS, *Περὶ ἀπλήκτου* 161—177; TOYNBEE, *Const. Porph.* 307—311; and on this passage in particular, KOLIAS, *Περὶ ἀπλήκτου* 162—163; TOYNBEE, *Const. Porph.* 310—311; and see DAGRON, *Phocas* 215, n. 1.

(C) 422 φατλίον: see on (C) 302—308 above.

(C) 422 οἱ ρ' σχολάριοι, οὐς ἔχει: see on (C) 263, 281 above.

(C) 422—423 τὴν φῖναν τὴν ἔξω . . . φῖναν ἔσω: see on (C) 263 above.

(C) 426 τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον: the archangel Michael. Cf. *Th. Cont.* 145, 6; 340, 21; Michael was an important figure in imperial symbolism. Note that there were two *bēmata* in the palace grounds constructed

during the reign of Theophilus, dedicated to the Virgin and to Michael (Th. Cont., loc. cit.) and a chapel of the *Archistratēgos*, i. e. Michael, in the palace itself (Theoph. 471, 1—2). At a later date an imperial banner bore his image: see on (C) 734—735 *infra*. For the important pilgrimage centre dedicated to the arch-general, see C. MANGO, The Pilgrimage Centre of St. Michael at Germia. *JÖB* 36 (1986) 117—132, and especially P. MAGDALINO, Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I. *JÖB* 37 (1987) 51—64, see 56 and n. 1; and see the detailed survey of R. JANIN, Les sanctuaires byzantins de saint Michel (Constantinople et banlieu). *Échos d'Orient* 33 (1934) 28—52, note esp. 29—30 (nos. 2 and 3).

(C) 426—427 τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων τῶν στρατηλάτων: see REISKE, Comm. 567; and Th. Cont. 324, 18—19. Saints Theodore (*stratēlatēs*) and Theodore (*Tiro*), Dēmētrios, Merkourios and George are the best-known; but saint Prokopios, as REISKE notes, was also important. See H. DELEHAYE, Les légendes grecques des saints militaires. Paris 1909, 2—8; and cf. HALDON, Praetorians 568—569 and literature. Note also R. JANIN, Les églises byzantines des saints militaires (Constantinople et banlieu). *Échos d'Orient* 33 (1934) 163—180 (I. Églises Saint-Georges), 331—342 (II. Églises Saint-Démétrios. III. Églises Saint-Ménas); 34 (1935) 56—70 (IV. Les églises Saint-Théodore. V. Les églises des Quarante-Martyrs de Sébaste).

(C) 428 ἐπιστάτας: patrols of soldiers, lit. “supervisors/superintendants”; see REISKE, Comm. 567—568.

(C) 430—431 ἔξω τῶν σκουταρίων εἰσελθεῖν: τὰ σκουτάρια was the normal term for shields; but it was also applied to the rank and file of the *Vigla*, under the *drouggarios*, who provided the 100 *scholarioi* here on guard duty. See HALDON, Praetorians 241 and notes. In this context it is again an equivalent of ἡ φῖνα. Note εἰσελθεῖν in the sense of “pass through”.

(C) 432—433 ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸν δρουγγάριον: see also lines (C) 436—437: ὁπόθεν αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει ὁ δρουγγάριος. The *drouggarios* was clearly responsible for accompanying such persons to an exit point and for ensuring that they returned according to the prescribed manner.

(C) 438 τῶν πεδητούρων: see REISKE, Comm. 568; HALDON, Praetorians 541—542.

(C) 443 διερχομένου δὲ . . . θέμασιν: i. e. once he has left the district of Optimaton and entered the military provinces. Note the similarity between this usage and Theophanes' anachronistic reference to Heraclius' entry into the "region of the themes", Theoph. 303, 10. For literature and discussion, see HALDON, Recruitment 30ff.; LILIE, Die byz. Reaktion 287ff., see 294, n. 18; IDEM, Die zweihundertjährige Reform. Zu den Anfängen der Themenorganisation im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert. *BSI* 45 (1984) 27—39; 190—201.

(C) 446—448 ὁ τε στρατηγὸς . . . ὁ δομέστικος τοῦ θέματος: the chief military and administrative officers of the *thema*, except for the *kritēs*. See on (B) 100 supra. For the form *τρουμάρχαι*, found here and in many other texts, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 55.

(C) 448 δέξιμον: see REISKE, Comm. 568; EBERSOLT, Mélanges 89; VOGT, Cér. Comm. II 97ff. Cf. OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 217, 18 and note 255 with literature. The word meant formal reception in the most general sense; of the emperor by the army; or by the demes and populace of the City; or, by extension, of the granting of games and accordingly of festivities to the populace of the City by the emperor in the Hippodrome. See (C) 873sq. infra. For the related term *δοχή* see REISKE, Comm. 83—84; EBERSOLT, Mélanges 45; and on (B) 122 above. See also R. GUILLAND, Autour du Livre des Cérémonies. *Ἑλληνικά* 16 (1958) 77—94, see 81 and n. 1.

(C) 449—450 πίπτουσι . . . καβαλλάριοι: the honour accorded by the emperor to the soldiers is emphasised in these ceremonial receptions. See (B) 124sq.

(C) 451 τὸ προσκυνῆσαι: for the different "grades" of *proskynēsis* see VOGT, Cér. Comm. I 29—30; TREITINGER, Reichsidee 84—90.

(C) 453—454 «πῶς ἔχετε . . . τὰ παιδιά;»: the emperor as "father" of his people, defender of their families, patron of their children, was a common motif. Cf. AHRWEILER, Un discours 401—402; VÁRI, Exzerptenwerk c. 4, 1; cf. HALDON, Praetorians 606, n. 1016 and references. Cf. Leo, Tact. IV 1: τὸν ἡμέτερον συστρατιώτην (οὕτως γὰρ ἐγὼ καλῶ τὸν ἀριστεύειν μέλλοντα ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἡμῶν βασιλείας . . .); VÁRI, Exzerptenwerk c. 5, 2—3: συνιπτότας, συνοπλίτας, συστρατιώτας (of Constantine VII and Romanus being companions-in-arms of their soldiers); also Leo, Tact. XX 5: πατρικὴν σε ἔχειν στοργὴν πρὸς αὐτούς

(of the *stratēgos* for his soldiers); XX 72; *Logos nouthetētikos* (in-certi scriptoris de officiis regiis libellus, in: Kekaumenos 93—104) 97, 29—98, 1 (LITAVRIN 284, 8—10); note Th. Cont. 456, 12—14 (of Constantine VII). The terms occur regularly in the harangues attributed to Leo and Nicephorus Phocas by Leo the Deacon: cf. Leo Diac. 12, 21; 20, 13—14; 42, 1; cf. Th. Cont. 478, 7—8; and Theodosios Diakonos II 140. Note also DAGRON, Phocas 162 and n. 6; 285 and n. 29; and for the closely-related notion of *pronoia* or forethought, exercised by the emperor as father of his subjects, see the anonymous sixth-century *De scientia politica*, discussed in E. BARKER, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium*. Oxford 1957, 71 f.; and HUNGER, *Prooimion* 84—94, esp. 93—94.

(C) 454—455 *ἀκαεῖνοι . . . ὑγιαίνομεν*: cf. REISKE, *Comm.* 569; Leo, *Tact.* epilog. 4: *ἐν αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ Θεῷ) ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν*; and cf. DAI *proem*.

(C) 457 *ὀρίζει*: see on (B) 58 above.

(C) 458 *καβαλλικεῦσαι*: see DU CANGE 526 s. v.

(C) 458—459 *ἀπελθεῖν . . . τάξι*: the wording suggests that there existed a formal parade-order for the reception of an emperor or a similar high-ranking visitor. See (C) 444.

(C) 461—462 *εἶτε ἐν . . . Καισάρειαν*: see on (A) 3—5 and (A) 13 above.

(C) 466—473 *ἀγωνίσασθε . . . ἐνδείξεται*: cf. AHRWEILER, *Un discours* 401—402 and text, 398, 28—30 etc. Note the stress on right belief and loyalty to the emperor, on the one hand; and on the other, of the rewards to be gained. See HALDON, *Praetorians* 317—318 and notes; and 606, n. 1016; REISKE, *Comm.* 569—570. This short harangue should be included among those which AHRWEILER, *loc. cit.*, suggests need further analysis as a genre. Cf. those of Nicephorus and Leo Phocas, very similar in content, reported by Leo the Deacon: Leo Diac. 12, 4—13, 10; 20, 13—21, 23; and Th. Cont. 478, 17—18 (and cf. *ibid.* 459, 16—20); together with those cited by AHRWEILER, *Un discours* 393, n. 5. The military harangues had long been a favourite *topos* of historians, as is demonstrated by the circulation of the collection *Περὶ δημηγοριῶν* (in *Rhetorica militaris*) and various selected *δημηγορίαι*, the first preserved in both the

Laurentianus Plut. 55, 4 (ff. 216—230) and the Ambrosianus B 119 supp. (ff. 135—140), of the tenth century; the second in the Ambrosianus codex only (ff. 141—161), and including harangues extracted from ancient, Roman and Byzantine historians. See DAIN, *Stratégistes* 343—344; 364 (with 384—385) and literature; LEMERLE, *Premier humanisme* 272—273; and DAGRON, *Modèle islamique* 226ff. and 235, n. 71 with literature. See also DAGRON, *Phocas* 126, n. 6; 162 and n. 6.

(C) 474 *ἐπιθεν τοῦ δρουγγαρίου*: the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* appears generally separated from his own unit, being placed in charge of camp security and with the *Hetaireia* in attendance. See above on (C) 420.

(C) 475—478 *καὶ ὅτε . . . τὰ θέματα*: see on (B) 112—113, 114—115 supra. Note that the redactor or copyist has wrongly supplied *ὁ ἰκανάτος* for *οἱ ἰκανάτοι*, on a false analogy with the unit *ὁ ἀριθμός*: the usual nominalisation of unit commanders' titles has misled him; cf. for example *ὁ ἐξκούβιτος* for *ὁ δομέστικος τῶν ἐξκουβίτων*, or *ὁ Ἀνατολικός* for *ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν*, and so on. See (C) 648sq.

(C) 480 *οἱ βασιλικοὶ εὐνοῦχοι*: i. e. those court officers bearing titles assigned only to eunuchs (in theory, at least) — including *praipositoi* and *koubikoularioi*. See OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 300—301; WINKELMANN, *Rang- und Ämterstruktur* 66.

(C) 480 *εὐθὺς καὶ παρ' αὐτά*: see DU CANGE s. v. *πάραυτα* = *παραυτικά*, 1118.

(C) 483 *ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης*: see on (B) 48, 117 above.

(C) 484—485 *οἱ . . . πρωτοσπαθάριοι*: bearers of the dignity of the same name. See OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 297; WINKELMANN, *Rang- und Ämterstruktur* s. t.; HALDON, *Praetorians* 184.

(C) 486 *τὸ κουβούκλιον*: Lat. *cubiculum*, the imperial bedchamber and its attendant dignities. By this time the *koitōn* was the bedchamber proper (see [C] 480 and on [C] 268 above), the term *kouboukleion* signifying collectively the group of dignities originally associated with the *cubiculum* — *praipositoi* and *koubikoularioi* in particular.

See ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈΣ, Préséance 300; 301f. and esp. n. 89; and 305, *parakoimōnenos*. See also VOGT, Cér. Comm. I 15—16.

(C) 487 τὰ τίμια καὶ ζωοποιὰ ξύλα: cf. De Cer. 124, 22—127, 15; and 161, 2—4sq. See REISKE, Comm. 570; these are pieces of the True Cross, carried in a reliquary. Cf. DAI 46, 60; note Klet. Phil. 129, 25sq. and 130, n. 88; and see De Cer. 538, 14—541, 10 for the celebration and procession of the True Cross. These were paraded together with the great bejewelled cross, various other imperial standards and banners, as well as military standards, on specific ceremonial occasions. See on (C) 489, 734—735 and 785—787 infra. Note the relics of the Passion sent to the troops by Constantine VII. on the occasion of a campaign: VÁRI, Exzerptenwerk c. 8, 23—29. For the liturgical exaltation of the Cross, see ΜΑΤΕΟΣ, Typicon I 28, 11—32, 25.

(C) 489 σιγνοφόρος: there were *signophoroi* in the *exkoubiton* (see HALDON, Praetorians 293 and notes; and cf. *ibid.* 287—288 and n. 828), but not in other *tagmata*. On the other hand, the term might be less a title than a description, of one of the *basilikoi* bearing an imperial *signon*; unless an officer of the *exkoubiton* was seconded to this task. See on (C) 734—735 below.

(C) 489 σταυρὸν χρυσοῦν διάλιθον: cf. (C) 786—787. One of the many ceremonial symbols stored in the precincts of the palace in various chapels and churches, including in particular military insignia. There were two such processional crosses in the tenth century, one attributed to Constantine I, one constructed on the orders of Constantine VII (see De Cer. 640, 3—4. 17—18) stored in the palatine chapels of St. Stephen in the Daphnē (see JANIN, CPByz. 112—113; IDEM, Églises et monastères 473—474) and of the Virgin of Pharos (JANIN, CPByz. 409; IDEM, Églises et monastères 232—236) respectively. The great cross of Constantine I is mentioned in several processions from the fifth century on (see De Cer. 414, 11 — accession of Leo I; [C] 785sq. — triumphal entry of Basil I; cf. infra on [C] 724sq.; [C] 861 — entry of Theophilus; cf. infra on [C] 808sq.; De Cer. 439, 8—9 — entry into Constantinople of Nicephorus II Phocas in 963). It (or its companion cross) was sent by the Patriarch Nikolaos I and the empress Zoë and others to the palace to the great *drouggarios* Romanos Lekapēnos upon their invitation to him to

assume the protection of Constantine VII in 919 (see OSTROGORSKY, *Geschichte* 220; *G. Mon. Cont.* 886, 14—15). It was also regularly paraded in palatine processions and ceremonies — see, for example, *De Cer.* 15, 5—6; 591, 8 etc. The present passage confirms that it was probably taken on campaign with the emperor, as recounted by *Skoutariōtēs* 404, 24—405, 4 for Constantine I. It was probably this cross, or the similar version produced under Constantine VII, that was lost at Myriokephalon and later recovered (see *Nik. Choniātēs* I 179—180), and again by Isaac II in 1190 (*Akropolitēs* XI 19, 25—20, 7). On the other hand, gilded and bejewelled crosses were also carried on expeditions where the emperor was not present, and this particular passage may refer to such a cross. See *Leo Diac.* 61, 2sq., where Nicephorus II recaptures a number of such crosses. According to both *Skoutariōtēs* and *Akropolitēs* (*loc. cit.*) the cross taken in 1190 was an elaborate affair, containing as its centre-piece a set of reliquaries from the wood of the True Cross, containing such items as milk from the Virgin, a part of her girdle, relics of saints, and other items. This was supposedly the processional cross of Constantine I; and even if it was not, it suggests at least the form that the cross of Constantine and similar crosses may have taken. Compare the procession of John Tzimiskēs recorded at *Leo Diac.* 128, 1—129, 8.

A third cross, presumably used also for ceremonial purposes, is also mentioned, along with the other two: cf. *De Cer.* 549, 2—550, 21; and cf. *De Cer.* 8, 9—10. Such ceremonial crosses appear to have formed a regular part of the insignia taken on campaign: cf. *Typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos 1681: σταυρός ἀργυρός στρατηγικὸς διὰ λίθων κοκκίνων. See in general GRABAR, *L'empereur* 32—39 with literature; and N. THIERRY, *Le culte de la croix dans l'empire byzantin du VII^e siècle au X^e dans ses rapports avec la guerre contre l'infidèle. Nouveaux témoignages archéologiques. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 1 (1981) (*Miscellanea Agostino PERTUSI*) 205—218; also J. MOORHEAD, *Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image. Byz* 55 (1985) 165—179, see 171ff. for the central role of the cross as a symbol of victory (and note *ibid.* 175, notes 54—56). But note the critical remarks of P. SPECK, in: *Byz* 56 (1986) 520ff. The best detailed analysis of both the form and the uses of such crosses is to be found in J. DEÉR, *Das Kaiserbild im Kreuz. Ein Beitrag zur politischen Theologie des früheren Mittelalters. Schweiz. Beiträge*

zur allg. Geschichte 13 (1955) 48—110 (repr. in: IDEM, Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschertum 125ff.). The central place of the cross in imperial military ideology is demonstrated by the Byzantine battle-cry “the cross has conquered”. See J. GAGÉ, Σταυρός νικητοῦς. La victoire impériale dans l’empire chrétien. *Revue d’Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses* (Année 1935) 370—400. See also HALDON, Praetorians 555, n. 829; 558—559, n. 843; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 132, n. 97; and cf. De Cer. 591, 6—10; also EBERSOLT, Mélanges 43, n. 4; and see on (C) 734—735 and (C) 785—787 infra. Note also WESSEL, Insignien 398—410; and esp. A. FROLOW, La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le développement d’un culte (*Archives de l’Orient Chrétien* 7). Paris 1961, esp. 183.

(C) 489—491 ἔμπροσθεν . . . εὐώνυμα: see (B) 108—109, (C) 111—112; and (C) 125 (horses provided by the monasteries, remaining unbranded).

(C) 492 κανδιδάτοι . . . σπαθάριοι: see HALDON, Praetorians 155—160; 182; 190; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 297—298; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur s. t.

(C) 493 μετὰ σκουταρίων: cf. Lat. *scutum*, DU CANGE 1398—1399 s. v.; and see on (C) 430—431 above.

(C) 496 τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων: the late Roman *magister memoriae*, under the authority of the *quaestor*; by the ninth century (and probably from the later seventh) an independent official, responsible for receiving petitions, dealing with requests and passing relevant documents and pleas on to the emperor. See BURY, Administrative System 77—78; and OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 322 and literature. Cf. DU CANGE 274 s. v. δεήσεις. For a detailed account, see R. GUILLAND, Maître des Requêtes. *Byz* 35 (1965) 97—118 (= IDEM, Titres et fonctions XXII).

(C) 497—498 ἔνθα . . . κόρη: i. e. the imperial tent sent on ahead. See (C) 164sq. and (C) 416.

(C) 499 ἀνθυπατοπατρικίους: *anthypatos* designated an imperial dignity introduced during the reign of Theophilus, generally awarded to officers of *patrikios* rank — as here. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 294; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur s. t.

(C) 499—500 κλεισουράρχας: commanders of *kleisourai* or frontier districts controlling passes (Lat. *clisura*) into the empire. See J. FERLUGA, Niže vojno-administrativne jedinice tematskog uređenja. *ZRVI* 2 (1953) 63—98, see 76—85; AHRWEILER, Recherches 81—82 and literature; also OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 342; IDEM, Organisation 285—286. At this time (c. 867—886) there were some three or four *kleisourai* in Anatolia: Charsianon (certainly by 863, but a *thema* by 873; originally a *tourma* of the Armeniakon which became a *kleisoura* during the first half of the ninth century. See PERTUSI, at De Them. 123—124; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 348); Sebasteia (before 908; a *thema* by 911; see PERTUSI, De Them. 142—143; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 349 and n. 352 with literature; *TIB* II 84); Seleukeia (from the first half of the ninth century; raised to the status of a *thema* under Romanus I, c. 927—934; see PERTUSI, De Them. 147—148; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 350 and n. 354 and literature; also *ibid.* 54, n. 35); Leontokōmē/Tephrikē (taken under Basil I in 879, a *thema* between 934 and 944; see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 350 and n. 355 with literature; *TIB* II 84). While the *kleisourai* of Charsianon and Seleukeia were certainly in existence during Basil I's reign, the date of the establishment of Sebasteia is less certain. The text(s) on which Constantine based this account seem to derive material from the period of Basil I's campaigns against Tephrikē and Melitēnē (from 871/872) (see OSTROGORSKY, Geschichte 197—198; HONIGMANN, Ostgrenze 58ff.; *TIB* II 81—83 with literature). Leontokōmē/Tephrikē may well not have been formally incorporated as a *kleisoura* until the reign of Leo VI — after which time it is clearly named. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Organisation 286 and n. 4. See (C) 86—89; and the references at (A) 6sq. above. On the tenth-century frontier, see DAGRON, Phocas 239—257.

(C) 501 τὸ ἄπληκτον: see on (A) 2 above. While the word can mean the “official” marching camps or thematic base camps, it can also be used more generally, as in this instance, of a military camp *tout court*.

(C) 502—511: presentations of gifts to officers and soldiers alike was a traditional method of encouragement and of re-affirming the support and loyalty of the armies. See (C) 281sq.

(C) 503—511 τριβλαττίων . . . ἀγοραζομένων: for the various technical terms here, see on (C) 226, (C) 233, (C) 237, (C) 240—241 and (C) 289—290 above.

(C) 504 τῷ μεράρχῃ: in the official terminology of Maurice's *Stratēgikon*, the *merarchēs* was the commander of a division or *meros* made up of several (usually three) *moirai*, or brigades, each under a *moirarches*. Each *moira* consisted of a group of *banda* or *tagmata*. See Maurice, *Strat.* I 3, 12—15; 4, 8—15. Thus the *meros* is the equivalent of the later *tourma*, and the *moira* of the later *drouggos*. See, for example, Leo, *Tact.* IV 8—9 (in fact, *meros/merarchēs*, *moira/moirarchēs* seem to have had only a very limited currency, and were replaced in popular and official usage already in the seventh century by *tourma/tourmarchēs*, *drouggos/drouggarios* and terms such as *chiliarchia/chiliarchēs* or *doux*; or even *taxiarchia/taxiarchēs*: see, for example, Maurice, *Strat.* I 3, 13—14; 4, 11—13 and so on. See HALDON, *Praetorians* 110—112, esp. 111, n. 103 and literature; *IDEM*, *Recruitment* 31—32 and notes 36—37). By the ninth/tenth centuries, as OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 108, n. 65, has pointed out, the title seems to have had a different connotation: the highest-ranking of the *tourmarchai*, the *aide-de-camp* to the *stratēgos*, or second-in-command (see Leo, *Tact.* IV 8. 43; XII 77; XVII 52) equivalent to ὑποστράτηγος; although it also appears as a rank slightly lower than *tourmarchēs* here; and as a separate officer, with his own *bandon*, at De Cer. 663, 18. At De Cer. 662, 18—20 and 663, 4 the *merarchēs* is classed together with the *tourmarchai*, thematic *chartoularioi*, the *komēs tēs kortēs* and the *domestikos* of the *thema* (as also in this text — see [C] 509; note also De Cer. 622, 9—10). Merarchs might also have administrative authority over a particular region, like a *tourmarchēs*, as a seal of a *merarchēs* of Knossos (SCHLUMBERGER, Sig. 201, cited by OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 108, n. 65) might suggest. Note also Testament d'Eustathios Boilas 278.

The most probable solution to these apparently contradictory statements in the sources, is that the merarch was in fact the commander of the *tourma* of the *stratēgos*, that is, of the district in which the thematic headquarters was established. Note that the *stratēgos* of the Thrakēsion *thema* in 949 has three *tourmarchai* and one *merarchēs* (De Cer. 663, 3—4 and note 663, 20: the plurals at 663, 3 and 4 seem to be errors); but that one of these, the *tourmar-*

chēs of the *Biktōres*, was left behind to guard the coast. Yet the *stratēgos* still sailed “with his three *tourmarchai*”, suggesting that the *mer(i)archēs* counted as a *tourmarchēs*. See De Cer. 666, 17. This would accord with Leo’s remarks, with the fact that the *merarchēs* is distinguished from the other *tourmarchai*, and with the fact that he is classed with the administrative officers of the thematic establishment. The fact that mention is made at De Cer. 663, 18 of the *bandon* of the *merarchēs* does not mean that he commanded a *bandon* as such; reference is also made to the *bandon* of the *tourma* of the *Theodosiakoi* (a *tourma* of the Thrakēsion) from which the *komēs* of the *bandon*, four adjutants (*proagetai*), the *prōtomandatōr* and the *domestikos* of the *tourmarchēs* are selected to accompany the *tourmarchēs* himself to Crete. The same number of officers (and, from the context, the same officials) are selected from the *bandon* of the *merarchēs* (of the Thrakēsion). The *bandon* of the *merarchēs* or of the *tourmarchēs* is thus simply the headquarters unit of the *tourma* in question. See De Cer. 663, 1sq.

The slightly lower rank of the *merarchēs* (at least in terms of the gifts he receives according to this text, although this is not the case at De Cer. 662, 19 and 663, 4; see also 669, 5—8) may be a reflection of his position on the immediate staff of the *stratēgos*. The implication is that he counts also among the *proeleusimaioi* — see Leo, Tact. IV 30, although this is nowhere made explicit. Cf. AHRWEILER, Recherches 40 and n. 5; and 66 with notes 3—5. See also Klet. Phil. 109, 19. It is perhaps worth remarking that modern western notions of the rigid stratification of ranks and the division of responsibilities associated with military forces may not be entirely adequate to describing the structure of the medieval Byzantine military organisation. Some anomalies and contradictions are thus only from the contemporary perspective, and may have been part and parcel of the Byzantine establishment.

(C) 504—505 τῷ χαρτουλαρίῳ: see on (C) 353sq. above.

(C) 505 τῷ δομειστικῷ τοῦ θέματος: an official on the staff of the *stratēgos*; he numbered among the *proeleusimaioi*, and functioned probably as an adjutant. This *domestikos* is not a tagmatic officer, pace OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 341. See HALDON, Praetorians 223f.; and n. 564; AHRWEILER, Recherches 37. See Leo, Tact. IV 30.

(C) 506 ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς θέμασι: in opposition to the Ἀρμενικὰ θέματα, (C) 507. See on (A) 13 above with literature. But the Armeniak *themata* mentioned here are probably the new *themata* created during the tenth century, rather than the *themata* established from the territory of the original Armeniakon. Since these newer *themata* did not exist in Basil I's time, Constantine has clearly added more recent material to this part of his treatise to bring it up to date. On the organisation of these new circumscriptions, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Organisation 297ff.; Préséance 345—346; IDEM, L'Épopée de Digénis et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux X^e et XI^e siècles. *TM* 7 (1979) 375—397, see 383; see also *TIB* II 45 and notes; and DAGRON, Phocas 239ff.

(C) 510 δεκαλίου: see on (C) 289—290 above.

(C) 514 πτωχὰ ἄλογα: note REISKE's comments, Comm. 570—571.

(C) 521 ἐσταβλισμένα: Lat. *stabulum/stabulo*, cf. DÜ CANGE 1430 s. v.

(C) 526 οἱ βασιλικοὶ μάγειροι: from the βασιλικὸν μαγειρεῖον ([C] 531) attached to the imperial table. See on (B) 117 supra.

(C) 533—535 ὀφείλει λαβεῖν ... χηνάρια ρ': see (B) 101sq.; and (C) 146sq.

(C) 536—537 λαμβάνουσιν μαΐουμάδα ἐκ τῶν ξεναλίων: the importance of the customary "gifts" to the imperial *cortège* is made explicit in this passage. See also on (B) 102 above.

(C) 537 οἱ κορτινάριοι: those in the service of the *komēs tēs kortēs*, see on (B) 96, 117; see also (C) 570—573.

(C) 548—553: the difference between the riding horses and the pack-animals is emphasised by their different loads: *parippia* and *sagmaria*, the basic beasts of burden, must carry ten *modioi* each of barley; although even ridden horses must carry four *modioi*. See on (C) 65 above. For the loads and fodder requirements of pack-animals (in the sixth/seventh centuries, for example) see T. REEKMANS, A sixth-Century Account of Hay (P. Lond. Inv. 653) (*Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 1). Bruxelles 1962, chapt. three; and L. S. B. MACCOULL, An Account of Fodder for Pack-Horses. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 25 (1977) 155—158. REEKMANS discusses the types of

fodder and hay, seasonal variations in feeding and nutritional requirements, differences between green and dry fodder, average loads and capacities of various types of pack-animal, and so forth.

(C) 554—555 ἐξχουσσάτους . . . δικτύων: cf. Lat. *excusatus*. This technical term generally described all those exempted from all but the standard regular public taxes (*dēmosia*) on account of their obligations to the state in respect of either military or some other form of specific service, such as the maintenance of the horses and other animals for the public post, the post-stations themselves, and so on. See AHRWEILER, *Recherches* 7; 12; 19 and n. 2; HALDON, *Recruitment* 51ff.; and see 54, n. 94; 60, n. 104; 73, n. 129; HENDY, *Studies* 608ff.; 612. In this case it is unclear on what grounds these fishermen are *exkoussatoi*, although they are under the (temporary) authority of the *epi tēs trapezēs*. The probability is that they are indeed *exkoussatoi tou dromou*, since one of the functions of such groups was to provide food for those residing at the various *mitata* or *mansiones*. The speciality of this community seems to have been (fresh-water) fishing, hence their employment in this instance. For the village τοῦ Τέμβρη, in the Opsikion, situated near Dorylaion in the valley of the river Tembris (Porsuk su) see RAMSAY 177—178; 213, who identifies it with the imperial estate of Eudokias named in Hieroklēs.

(C) 556 εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς τῆς ἐρήμου: that is, of the deserted lands between Romania and Syria. See on (B) 128 supra.

(C) 559 ἀγγαρίδια: ἀγγαρεῖον, Lat. *munera*. For a general analysis, see A. STAVRIDOU-ZAPHRAGA, 'Ἡ ἀγγαρεία στὸ Βυζάντιο. *Βυζαντινά* 11 (1982) 32—54.

(C) 560 ἐκπροσώπει αὐτὸν ὁ ἱανάτος: see HALDON, *Praetorians* 295—296. The four *tagmata* often appear bracketed in pairs: *Scholai* and *Exkoubiton*, *Vigla*/*Arithmos* and *Hikanatoi*. See HALDON, *Praetorians* 269—270; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 332. The *Hikanatoi* were usually paired with the *Vigla*, and the *domestikos* of the *Hikanatoi* stood in for the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* where necessary. See R. GUILLAND, *Le drongaire et le grand drongaire de la Veille*. *BZ* 43 (1950) 340—365 (repr. in *IDEM*, *Institutions* I 563—587).

(C) 564—569 προφυλλάτουσι . . . ἡμέρα: see (B) 134sq.

(C) 574—575 ἔχει ... βεστιαρίου: see (C) 309—311, 420sq.

(C) 574—575 καὶ μανδάτορας: see on lines (C) 576—579 below.

(C) 576 τὰς πεδητούρας ... τὰ ἐξωβίγλια: see on (C) 438 above; and for the φῖναν τὴν ἐξω/ἔσω, cf. (C) 263 and (C) 422sq.; and Anon. Vári 11, 17 (DENNIS 4, 4): τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἔθους ἐξώβιγλα ... ἐσώβιγλα, for a description of how these sentries were posted. See on (C) 263 literature cited; and note Leo, Tact. XIV 34.

(C) 576—579 ἂν εὐρη ... τῷ βασιλεῖ: on the powers of summary punishment of the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla*, see GUILLAND, Institutions I 567; HALDON, Praetorians 294—295, n.872. The *mandatores* at (C) 574—575 almost certainly will have belonged to the staff of the *drouggarios* of the *Vigla* — see HALDON, loc. cit.

(C) 580 ὁ δὲ πρωτοστράτωρ ... βασιλικῶν: the head of the *stratores* or esquires attendant upon the imperial stables at Constantinople; under his authority were the *stratores tou stratōrikīou* (as opposed to simple titular bearers of the dignity), the ἀρμοφύλακες (in charge of imperial processional chariots) and *stablokomētes*. See on (C) 382—383 above. See also BURY, Administrative System 117—118; GUILLAND, Institutions I 478—497; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, Préséance 337—338 with literature.

(C) 581 ἅμα τῷ κόμητι τοῦ στάβλου: not to be confused with the three σταβλοκόμητες, one of whom is present here ([C] 585).

(C) 581—582 παραμόνιμα: cf. (C) 543: ὅσοι ... παραμένουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ. Cf. REISKE, Comm. 572.

(C) 582 ὅπισθεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πύργου: according to REISKE, the imperial pavilion (Comm. 572). Presumably the presence of these officers is to enable a rapid escape by the emperor should the need arise — the arrangement was made only while in hostile territory. On ceremonial occasions, however, the emperor might also be accompanied by three richly-caparisoned horses: cf. Harūn b. Yahya 391.

(C) 583—586 τὰ δὲ ἐπάρια ... αὐτῶν: these are the animals normally paraded in front of the imperial column; but for safety in enemy lands the order of march is changed. See (B) 108sq.; and (C) 392—393, 489—491.

(C) 587—590 ὅτε δὲ ἀπόληται . . . καταδικάζεται: cf. (C) 337sq. and Leo, Tact. VIII 9 (= Maurice, Strat. I 6, 9); Leg. Mil. (ASHBURNER), c. 50 (JGR II 79); (KORŽENSKY) c. 13, 89—91. See HALDON, Praetorians 573—574 and note 915; and P. E. PIELER, in: HUNGER, Profane Lit. II 443—444 and literature (notes 147—150).

(C) 591—596 ἰστέον . . . τὸ ἀγελάδιν τὸ α': see (C) 539sq.; see also (C) 145sq.

(C) 592 οἱ πρωτοσπαθάριοι ὀφφικιάλιοι: i. e. officials in active posts in Constantinopolitan bureaux, of *prōtospatharios* rank. See on (C) 93 supra.

(C) 594 τὸ δὲ χῦμα τοῦ λαοῦ: in the sense of the “mass” or the “rest” of the troops. See REISKE, Comm. 204; and cf. Niceph., Praec. 16, 34—35: οἱ χυδαῖοι ἦτοι οἱ σχολάριοι . . . (and cf. 5, 17, 20 *ibid.*).

(C) 596—598 ὅτε δὲ . . . πρωτονοτάριοι: see (C) 536—539; and see also (C) 145sq.

(C) 599—604 ὁ δὲ . . . Ῥωμανίας: the wine and oil from Nikaia, along with the “imperial” wine, are contrasted with that provided by the *prōtonotarioi* (see on [C] 141sq.); this may well have come from imperial estates, possibly those of the two imperial *kouratores*, see on (C) 96 and (C) 118—119, 144. For Nikaia, and more generally Bithynia, as a fertile source of wine and oil, see HENDY, Studies 49.

(C) 602 ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰνοχόος: see on (C) 137 supra.

(C) 605—606 ὅτι τὰ ἱππάρια . . . φίνας: these are the thirty imperial saddle horses which precede the emperor: see (C) 392—393, 126. They may also include the 20 horses given as a gift to the emperor — see (C) 126—127.

(C) 607—614: see on (C) 8—53 above with references and literature.

(C) 607 υἱὲ πολυέραςτε: cf. DAI 13, 195.

(C) 618—630 ἰστέον . . . Αὔξεντίου: the list of signal-fires has been fully discussed elsewhere. It occurs also at Th. Cont. 197, 12—21 and Sym. Mag. 682, 10—15 (and cf. Cedrenus II 174, 10—20), and is the same except for the fifth beacon (ὁ Ὀλυμπος, but ὁ Μάμας at Th.

Cont. 197, 17 and Sym. Mag. 682, 12; cf. Cedrenus II 174, 14—15). See HILD, Straßensystem 53; V. ASCHOFF, Über den byzantinischen Feuertelegraphen und Leo den Mathematiker. *Abh. und Berichte des Deutschen Museums* 48 (1980) n. 1, 1—28; TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 299; P. PATTENDEN, The Byzantine Early Warning System. *Byz* 53 (1983) 258—299. For Loulon (Lu'lu'a, between mod. Çanakçı and Gedelli) see *TIB* II 223—224; PATTENDEN, art. cit. 263—266; for Argeas Bounos, *TIB* II 135—137; 149 (Argaios [2]) (according to HILD, it is to be identified with mod. Keçikalesi, Arab. al-aghrab, a fortress on the promontory of the Hasan Dağı; PATTENDEN thinks that the Mt. Argaios above Caesarea in Cappadocia is more likely, mod. Erciyas Dağı; PATTENDEN, art. cit. 267—268); Mt. Samos (Isamos) is probably situated somewhere north of lake Tatta (RAMSAY 353; PATTENDEN 268); Aigilon is to be found probably in the hills south of the river Tembris near Dorylaion (RAMSAY 353; PATTENDEN 268); Mt. Mamas (Bithynian Olympos) is probably one of the hills to the south of Prousa — see RAMSAY 187; Mt. Kyrizos should be identified with one of the peaks between the Gulf of Kios and the lake of Nikaia — see JANIN, Grands centres 155; and see 153, n. 7; RAMSAY 187 suggests the Katerlı Dağı, followed by PATTENDEN 268; Mt. Mokilos is above Pylai on the southern shore of the Gulf of Nikomedeia (İzmit); according to RAMSAY 187 (and PATTENDEN 268) it is the Samanlı Dağı; finally, Mt. St. Auxentios, or Skopos, is the mod. Kayışdağ, c. 12 km. to the South-East of Chalcedon (Kadiköy); cf. JANIN, Grands centres 43—44 and map at 62; RAMSAY 20; 189, 65.

(C) 637 συστάμενα: see REISKE, Comm. 573: συνιστάμενα

(C) 639—646 ἱστέον ... φανούς: the famous story of Michael III's frivolous termination of the beacon system is most probably a fabrication designed to show Michael in a worse light than that of Constantine's grandfather Basil I. See also Th. Cont. 197, 22—198, 12; Sym. Mag. 682, 15—18; Cedrenus II 174, 21—175, 20; and on the denigration of Michael III by writers under the auspices of Constantine VII, see TOYNBEE, Const. Porph. 582ff.; HUNGER, Profane Lit. I 341f.; 351ff.; E. KISLINGER, Michael III. — Image und Realität. *Eos* 75 (1987) 390—401. For the district of Agios Mamas (mod. Beşiktaş) and its hippodrome, see JANIN, CPByz. 195—196.

(C) 647—652 ἰστῆον . . . χρόνω: the question of the quadrennial cycle of thematic payments and its origins — in the combined payment of commuted *annonae* and *capitus* with accessional and quinquennial donatives from the sixth century, and their gradual evolution into a devolved cycle — has been thoroughly treated by HENDY, Studies 646—651 with literature; also *ibid.* 183—184; and see HALDON, Praetorians 583, n. 945. Note that this list is the same as that at *Klet. Phil.* 101, 5—17, which dates it to between 899 (the date of the composition of the *Klētorologion*) and some time before 873 (first mention of the thema of Charsianon, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 348). Furthermore, the list of *themata* here and in the *Klētorologion* covers the area originally forming the older praetorian prefecture of Oriens; and parallels also — with the exception of the newer, eastern *themata* — the list of *rogai* of *stratēgoi* at *De Cer.* 696, 13—697, 2 (HENDY, Studies 650f.). The meeting point of eastern with western *themata* is, in each of these cases, the same as the former boundary between the original dioceses of Macedonia (praetorian prefecture of Illyricum) and Thrace (praetorian prefecture of Oriens). Thus the differences in method of payment as between eastern *themata* (*rogai*) and western *themata* (from local funds) reflects an original late Roman administrative difference between the two *praefecturae*. See HENDY, Studies 651.

(C) 653—659 δέον . . . αὐτοῦ: cf. Leo, *Tact.* V 6; 9; VI 27; 28 (and cf. Maurice, *Strat.* XII B 6).

(C) 654 δρουγγαροκόμητας: usually, *komētes* commanded *banda* and *droungarioi* commanded *droungoi*. But in the later ninth and tenth centuries the term *droungarokomēs* appears, suggesting a reduction in the status of the rank of *droungarios*, and possibly a reduction in the size of the units they commanded. In contrast to their earlier position as reflected in Leo's *Tactica*, for example — see on (C) 504 above; and see HALDON, Praetorians 331 and n. 1021 — which itself reflected older tradition, *droungarioi* from the earlier tenth century seem to have been only slightly superior to *komētes*. The older *themata*, in contrast to the newer “Armenian” *themata* (see on [C] 506 above), retained their traditional organisation — they continued to have *tourmarchai*, *droungarioi* and *komētes*, but no “greater” or “lesser” *tourmarchai* — with slight modifications. Thus

the Thrakēsion *thema* in 949 had a *stratēgos*, 4 *tourmarchai* and their staffs, but with 64 *drouggarokomētes*, some with 2 and some with 3 soldiers as assistants; together with a *chartoularios*, *komēs tēs kortēs*, *domestikos tou thematos*. The staff of the *stratēgos* included a *prōto-mandatōr*, *prōtokagkellarios*, *prōtobandophoros*, 6 *prōtodomestikoi*, 6 *prōtokentarchoi*, and 100 soldiers (see De Cer. 663, 1—18; 666, 16—20; note that οἱ τουρμάρχει τῶν Βικτόρων at 663, 3 is corrected to ὁ τουρμάρχεις at 663, 20; there was probably only one *tourmarchēs tēs paralias* — see 663, 4; and for the thematic staff, see Klet. Phil. 109, 18—110, 5). Significantly, the *drouggarokomētes* of 663, 6 are described as *drouggarioi kai komētes* at 666, 19—20, and are clearly of more or less the same rank as one another. Their high number — 64 — makes it certain that they were not commanders of *drouggoi* in the older sense — brigades of several *banda*, each under its own *komēs* — but rather commanders of individual *banda* themselves. The ranks of *drouggarios* and *komēs* thus seem by this time to have been regarded in practice as effectively equivalents. The text here makes it quite clear that a *drouggarokomēs* commanded a *bandon*. The reasons for the change or evolution remain unclear. But one contributory element may have been the fact that whereas *komētes* had always had authority, like the much higher-ranking *tourmarchai*, over a specific territorial area — a *bandon* or *topotērēsia* — the position of *drouggarios* had always been a purely tactical command, without regional authority. *Drouggarioi* were on the permanent staffs of their *tourmarchai* or *stratēgoi*, and were involved in recruitment, in the *adnoumion* or muster, in maintaining discipline, and in other purely military administrative capacities (see HALDON—KENNEDY, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 103; HALDON, Recruitment 75f.; 79 and n. 145). But there is no evidence at all to suggest that they ever had a territorial jurisdiction. Note that DAI 50, 91—110 makes no reference to *drouggoi* at all, assuming rather that each *tourma* was made up of a number of *banda* or *topotērēsiai* (the number varied — *tourmai* of three and of seven *banda* are mentioned). The same assumption is made in our text: the *tourmarchai* pass on orders to the *drouggarokomētes*, who command the *banda*. It is therefore probable that the position of *drouggarios* declined in value and status as the forces which originally occupied the districts to which they gave their names — the *themata* — became increasingly territory-orientated for administrative and other purposes. This may have been

the case especially in the smaller *themata*, where an intermediate tactical command structure was less important (and for the local *bandon* or *topotērēsia*, see DAI Comm. 189; AHRWEILER, Recherches 80—81). The evolved *drouggarokomēs* could fulfill both the administrative functions of the *komēs* and the tactical and military-administrative functions of the *drouggarios*. How generalised this system became is difficult to say. The naval *themata* in 949 still seem to have maintained a clear distinction between *komētes* and *drouggarioi*, for example: see De Cer. 662, 15, where *drouggarioi* receive 20 *nomismata*, *komētes* 6 *nomismata*, a difference which demonstrates a considerable difference in status. But this may reflect the functional requirements of the naval *themata* themselves and the command structure of the fleet and their ships. In 899, when the *Klētorologion* of Philotheos was drawn up, *drouggarioi* preceded *komētes* immediately, there being apparently no great difference in status (Klet. Phil. 157, 9—11); they are classed effectively together (Klet. Phil. 109, 23—24: δρουγγάριοι τῶν βάνδων, κόμητες ὁμοίως . . .; note again that *drouggarioi* are seen as commanders of *banda*). Naval *themata* had exactly the same establishment (with the addition of *kentarchoi* and *prōtokaraboi*, see Klet. Phil. 111, 20—23), however, so this tells us little about actual differences in *roga* or in jurisdiction or authority. But the reference to *drouggarioi* of the *banda* is suggestive of the disappearance or irrelevance of a real middle-grade *drouggaraton* and its assimilation to the rank and duties of *komēs*. Already in 911 this assimilation is evident in the structure of the recently-formed *thema* of Sebasteia (which was not, however, one of the new, small “Armenian” *themata* — contrast with the structure of such a *thema*, that of Charpezikion, in 949 at De Cer. 662, 18—22), whose *drouggarioi*, numbering 10, and *komētes*, numbering 8, received respectively 6 and 5 *nomismata* — it is clear that by this time *drouggarioi* were effectively little more than higher-ranking *bandon* commanders. The appearance in the sources of the rank *drouggarokomēs* illustrates the last stages of this process, a process which seems already to have been well under way during the reign of Basil I: see De Cer. 622, 10—11, where the *drouggarokomētes* of the *themata* of Armeniakon and Kappadokia are mentioned. By the later eleventh century, the rank and position of κόμης δρουγγάριος was unexceptional: see Logos nouthetētikos (in: Kekaumenos 93—104; see on [C] 453—454 above) 103, 1 (LITAVRIN 294, 22); and cf. (C) 447.

(C) 655 τὸν κωμοδρόμον: a mobile smithy. Cf. DU CANGE 776 s. v.; Theoph. 224, 16 (and note DAI 50, 106—107).

(C) 656 ἀπισίων: cf. DU CANGE 98 s. v.; and πίσσα, pitch, tar. Cf. Ed. Diocl. 36, 26 and Comm. 283.

(C) 659—664 τὴν αὐτὴν ... ἐργαλεῖα: see on these units and their establishment HALDON, Praetorians 282—296; and see on (B) 112—113 above.

(C) 665—706: this account of an imperial return to the Capital and the various ways in which the emperor is to be received is clearly based on sixth-century material, possibly from documents attributable to Peter the Patrician, as titles such as *tribunus praesentalis* and the presence of the seven Constantinopolitan *scholae* with their officers shows. See the remarks of BURY, Ceremonial Book 439, n. 57, on this particular document. For the triumphal procession which follows, see EBERSOLT, Mélanges 40—50; and for a list and analysis of the ceremonial routes through the City, see GUILLAND, Topographie I 217—248; also MANGO, Brazen House 73ff. In general on imperial triumphal entries, see MACCORMACK, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity 73—78; 84—89, with an analysis of such *adventus*-ceremonies and their symbolic-ideological structure; and especially 17ff. on the classical/pagan antecedents and later Christian evolution of the triumphal entry. See also McCORMICK, Eternal Victory 189ff., for a detailed critical analysis of Byzantine triumphs; and W. EHLERS, Art. Triumphus. *RE* VII A (1939) 493—511, for the classical/Roman triumph.

(C) 665 ἐξπεδίτου: Lat. *expeditio*, cf. DU CANGE 407 s. v.

(C) 669 ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ: Rhegion, mod. Küçükçekmece, some twelve miles west of Constantinople: cf. JANIN, CPByz. 277.

(C) 669—670 ὁ μὲν τριβούνος πραισεντάλιος: the *comes* or *tribunus* of the *schola* on duty in the City, to whom the security of the City was entrusted during the emperor's absence. See HALDON, Praetorians 125—126; 128 and notes; and cf. De Cer. 415, 14—17 (accession of Leo I, in 457): ἀπαντῶσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ κόμητες τῶν σχολῶν οἱ φυλάξαντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ παλάτιον (δεῖ γάρ τινας αὐτῶν ἀπομεῖναι καὶ φυλάξαι τὸ παλάτιον μέχρι οὗ ὑποστρέφει ὁ γενόμενος βασιλεύς)

(C) 670—671 μετὰ . . . ῥουσέου: the *sagion*, Lat. *sagum*, or *mantion* (μανδύας) was a short tunic or cloak, originally of wool, worn on ceremonial occasions by both emperors and imperial officials, and in particular by military officers. It was in origin a military garment. See EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 56—57 and n. 5; 73; VOGT, *Cér. Comm.* I 30; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* VI 289f.; (C) 225 *supra*; and BOAK, *The Master* 120. For the common term ῥούσεος (Lat. *russus*) as red-brown in earlier papyri, see J.-M. DIETHART, *Neue Papyri zur Realienkunde. Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 64 (1986) 75—81, see 77, 10.

(C) 671 τὸ κατάβα: cf. τὸ διάβα (Prod. III 109); and καταβάσιμον/καταβάσιον, *DU CANGE* 289 s. v.; = ἡ κατάβασις; see REISKE, *Comm.* 574.

(C) 673 οἱ δὲ κόμητες κονσιστοριανοὶ καὶ τριβούνοι: the *consistorium* was originally an active council of state and “high court”, descended from the earlier *consilium* of the Principate, made up of the chief civil and military officers of state: *quaestor*, *magister officiorum*, *comes sacrarum largitionum*, *comes rei privatae*, the praetorian prefects *in comitatu*, the palatine guards commanders and the *magistri militum praesentales* — known jointly as *comites consistoriani*. By the sixth century its role in government had been curtailed as it was replaced by an “inner cabinet”; but its members continued to fulfill certain ceremonial functions together, as here. See JONES, *LRE* 333—341; STEIN, *Bas-Empire* I 111f.; 219f.; and 470, n. 80; 560, n. 1; GUILLAND, *Topographie* I 56.

The *tribuni* in question appear to be the *tribuni praetoriani et notarii*, the members of the secretariat of the consistory (see below on [C] 675—676), important officials close to the emperor and the affairs of state. By the sixth century their posts could be bought and sold, and were often filled by wealthy persons who were effectively titular holders. See JONES, *LRE* 572ff., and note STEIN, *Bas-Empire* I 113 and n. 89 (470).

(C) 674 πάντες λευχειμονοῦντες: for white clothing and uniforms, see EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 55 and n. 1; McMULLEN, *Some Pictures* 446—447 and notes 65—66; GUILLAND, *Candidat* 210.

(C) 675 σιλεντιάριος: the *schola silentiariorum* numbered 30 *silentiarii* under 3 *decuriones*, and came under the authority of the *praepositus*

sacri cubiculi; they were closely related in origin to the *cubicularii*, likewise under the *praepositus*. Their duties were chiefly those of chamberlains and ushers in the emperor's presence, to maintain order, silence and the preservation of the imperial dignity. As officials close to the emperor, they invariably came to be entrusted with various missions from time to time; see JONES, LRE 401; 387; and in general, STEIN, Bas-Empire I 111 and n. 79 (470); II 430, n. 1; see also JONES, LRE 571—572 and notes. Silentaries continued to function into the tenth century, under the authority of the *praepositos* (see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 300 and literature; and cf. De Cer. 441, 14—15, for example) and of the *epi tēs katastaseōs* (Klet. Phil. 125, 11), the title signifying both a dignity and a function. See OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 296 and literature; WINKELMANN, Rang- und Ämterstruktur s. t. for the titular dignity in the eighth and ninth centuries.

(C) 675—676 φύλαρχος ... πραιτωρίου: i. e. the praesental tribune, *comites consistoriani*, and the *tribuni et notarii*. This ceremonial announcement, couched in such archaising terms, reflects possibly the genuine ancient ritual address. For *phylarchos* = *tribunus*, see Lydus, De Mag. 81, 26; and see W. ENSSLIN, Art. Tribunus. RE VI A (1937) 2432—2492; F. GSCHNITZER, Art. Phylarchos. RE Suppl. XI (1968) 1067—1090, see 1070f.; 1086ff.

(C) 676 ὁ δὲ ἑπαρχος τῆς πόλεως: see STEIN, Bas-Empire I 145; 492, n. 89; JONES, LRE 689ff.; and 692; see also 375 and 481—492. For the later prefect, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 319—320 and literature; and on (B) 59—62 above.

(C) 676 οἱ ὑπατικοί: *consulares*; active, honorary and ex-consular members of the senate. See JONES, LRE 106—107; 379; 531—533; STEIN, Bas-Empire I 121; II 68—69; 461—462; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 296 and literature.

(C) 677 πατρίκιος: the context and the ἐὰν εὔρεθῆ suggests that this text refers not to *patrikioi* in general, who from the time of Justinian were fairly numerous, but to a more restricted group. The title was revived by Constantine I and awarded as a personal distinction; by Zeno's time it was still restricted to those who held or had held consular or praefectural rank (although this restriction was abol-

ished under Justinian). See JONES, LRE 528; 534; STEIN, Bas-Empire I 121; II 430; and ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, Préséance 294 and literature. It might here refer to the (*prōto*)*patrikios* or most senior member of the senate — see STEIN, Bas-Empire II 44 and n. 2 with literature; *ibid.* 788—790. See also ΒΟΑΚ, The Master 118; and cf. De Cer. 414, 11—12: the *prōtos patrikios* accompanies the newly-acclaimed Leo I in his chariot. Note R. GUILLAND, *Patrices des IV^e et V^e siècles*. *EEBS* 34 (1965) 139—174, see 141 f. (= *IDEM*, *Titres et fonctions VII*).

(C) 678 καὶ δέχεται αὐτοὺς . . . ἀπὸ στόματος; see also (C) 682, 730; and De Cer. 415, 19 — contrasted with “kiss” at De Cer. 415, 18—19: καὶ φιλοῦσιν τοὺς πόδας (*sc.* τοῦ βασιλέως), καὶ δέχεται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ στόματος. On the *aspsmos* of the emperor by court dignitaries at a later period, although still relevant for comparative purposes, see the comments of VERPEAUX at Ps.-Cod. I 140, n. 3.

(C) 679 εἰς Ἡρακλείαν: mod. Ereğli in Thrace; a stage further on from Constantinople than Rhegion; on the northern shore of the Sea of Marmara.

(C) 680 οἱ δὲ συγκλητικοί: the members of the senate: see JONES, LRE 329—333; 506—507; 525—532; STEIN, Bas-Empire I 127; 220.

(C) 681 εἰς τὸ Ἑβδομον: see JANIN, CPByz. 446—449: a suburb of the City, situated at the seventh mile to the West of the Constantinian city, mod. Bakırköy. See GUILLAND, *Topographie II* 62 and literature.

(C) 681 ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Νηπίων: dedicated to the children martyred with St. Babyllas, this church belonged to the monastic foundation of the same name, in the Hebdomon. See JANIN, *Églises et monastères* 366.

(C) 686 ὁ ἀπομονεύς: the *tribunus praesentalis* or a similar representative during the emperor's absence. See on (C) 669—670 above.

(C) 687 μέχρι τῆς πόρτης: i. e. of the City. Probably the Golden Gate is meant. The processional route out of the City to the Hebdomon was generally through the Golden Gate. Cf., for example, ΜΑΤΕΟΣ, *Typicon I* 306ff. + Index (III) s. v.; GUILLAND, *Topographie II*

72—75; see on (C) 721 *infra*; and for further references, MATEOS, *Typicon*, Index (III) s. v.

(C) 690 *ἕως Σηλυμβρίας*: on the northern shore of the Sea of Marmara, between Constantinople and Hērakleia/Ereğli: mod, Silivri. Note the Doric form in L. See Introduction, p. 74.

(C) 695—696 τῷ Φόρῳ Θεοδοσίου τῷ καλουμένῳ Ταύρῳ: situated in the seventh region of the City. See JANIN, *CPByz.* 64—68; GUILLAND, *Topographie* II 56—59; MANGO, *Constantinople* 28 (and see plan II *ibid.*); 43—45; and R. NEUMANN, *Neue Beobachtungen am Theodosiusbogen und Forum Tauri in Istanbul. Istanbul Mitteilungen* 27 (1976) 117—141.

(C) 696 στεφάνους: for the difference between the στέφανος and the στέμμα, which replaced it after the sixth century, see EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 67—68 and notes; VOGT, *Cér. Comm.* I 25. But J. DEÉR, *Der Ursprung der Kaiserkrone. Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte* 8 (1950) 51—87, see 79 and n. 131 (repr. in: IDEM, *Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschertum* 11 ff.), rejects this difference in technical meaning attributed by EBERSOLT. *Stephanoi* were offered on many occasions to emperors, particularly upon their return from outside the City and, of course, upon their return from war. See (C) 772, for example. But the use of such crowns or diadems was not limited to members of the imperial family — note OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 97, n. 51. Victory crowns of the sort proffered to emperors on their return from campaign (see, for example, [C] 847sq.; Th. Cont. 271, 3. 10; 284, 4) played a similar role to the votive crowns offered to the patron saints of many churches in the City, and were used, like the lamps of these churches, to decorate the City and its streets on such festive occasions. See on (C) 737sq.; also EBERSOLT, *Les arts somptuaires* 32. See especially MACCORMACK, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* 173ff., for a discussion of the Roman tradition of wreath-giving and its early Byzantine development; and WESSEL, *Insignien* 373—397; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, *Stemmata* 280ff.; MCCORMICK, *Eternal Victory* 211—212.

(C) 700—701 μεσάλλαγον: ἀλλαγῆ/ἀλλάξιμα/ἀλλάσσειν: see EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 51; VOGT, *Cér. Comm.* I 24; KOUKOULÈS, *BBP* II/2, 21:

IDEM, *EEBS* 19 (1949) 78; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, *Préséance* 131, n. 96; 191, n. 195; similar technical terms were applied in the case of liturgical vestments, see ΜΑΤΕΟΣ, *Typicon*, *Index* (V) ἀλλάσσειν (ii), 280—281; and cf. V. Theod. Syk. 159, 71 and commentary, 263.

(C) 701 ἐν τῷ Σατύρω: a port by the modern Kücükyalı, on the Asian shore of the Sea of Marmara, 2 km. east of Bostancı; cf. JANIN, *CPByz.* 505 and map XIII.

(C) 701 ἐν τῷ Πολεατικῷ: a small port, probably to be identified with modern Bostancı. See JANIN, *CPByz.* 503 and map XIII.

(C) 701 ἐν 'Ρουφηγιανᾶς: a small port, with an imperial residence, at mod. Caddebostan, 4 km. from Chalcedon/Kadıköy. See JANIN, *CPByz.* 504—505 and map XIII.

(C) 702 ἐν τῇ 'Ιερείᾳ: the site of an imperial palace and small port or harbour; mod. Fenerbahçe (Phanaraki). See JANIN, *CPByz.* 149—150; 498—499 and map XII. Certain ceremonies were enacted there; and it became an imperial picnic-place during the reign of Constantine VII. See *De Cer.* 373, 15—375, 18; *Th. Cont.* 451, 17sq.

(C) 702 (τὸν φόρον) τοῦ Στρατηγίου: in the fifth region of the City; see GUILLAND, *Topographie* II 55—56; JANIN, *CPByz.* 431—432. It was originally a parade-ground for troops.

(C) 707—723: this entry has been examined by several scholars, see D. SERRUYS, À propos d'un triomphe de Justinien. *REG* 20 (1907) 240—244; Ch. MARTROYE, De la date d'une entrée solennelle de Justinien. *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 69 (1909) 17—41; STEIN, *Bas-Empire* II, excursus O, 818—819. The latter, who had apparently not seen the Lipsiensis and relied therefore entirely upon REISKE's text, demonstrated that the reading ἔτους ,ζλγ' i. e. 6033, was in all likelihood an error of the copyist for ἔτους λγ', i. e. the 33rd year of the reign of the emperor, whereby the sign ζ, which occurs also as the abbreviation for ἔτους (see STEIN, *Bas-Empire* II 819 and n. 3) had been misread as part of the date. STEIN shows that this makes the more dubious explanatory attempts of SERRUYS and especially of MARTROYE superfluous: the ceremony took place on Monday 11th August 559, after Justinian had dealt with Zabergan and the Kutrigurs — see STEIN, *Bas-*

Empire II 539—540. But Stein's argument is itself unnecessary, correct though his conclusion is! A glance at the Lipsiensis shows that the whole debate has been based upon an unnecessary emendation by REISKE. The manuscript itself states quite clearly ἔτους λΓ, i. e. the 33rd year. There is no possibility of a misreading here, and still less so by REISKE. Indeed, a glance at his commentary (574D7) makes it plain that he supplied the extra figure himself, because he had been unable to make sense of the date as it stood in the manuscript. As STEIN notes, loc. cit., in a text such as this, clearly based on a sixth-century official or semi-official source, one would expect to find the date entered according to the regnal year of the ruler, following the prescription of Justinian's novel 47 (which led STEIN to his correct hypothesis). But REISKE was not aware of this, and emended the text, unjustifiably, and quite misleadingly: "non solent eorum (*sc.* graecorum) historici annos imperii alicuius Imperatoris sic nude citare", he says.

(C) 708—709 διὰ τῆς πόρτης τῶν Χαρισίου: the Adrianople gate, in the walls at the Blachernai quarter, and the exit at the end of the second branch of the Mesē. See MANGO, Brazen House 80 and n. 35; JANIN, CPByz. 281—282. For the anomalous processional route of this entry, due to earthquake damage incurred in 557 to the Mesē and the Great Church, see MCCORMICK, Eternal Victory 209.

(C) 710 ἐπὶ τὸ Δεύτερον: the greater part of the suburb between the Constantinian and the Theodosian walls — see JANIN, CPByz. 336—340; MANGO, Constantinople 33 and n. 58.

(C) 710—711 ἐν τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις: the church of the Holy Apostles on the second branch of the Mesē, leading to the gate τῶν Χαρισίου; see MANGO, Brazen House 80; DAGRON, Naissance 401—409; JANIN, CPByz. 281; IDEM, Églises et monastères 41—50; MANGO, Constantinople 27.

(C) 711 εἰς τὸ μνημα τῆς δεσποίνης: at the tomb of Theodora (d. 548); not of the Virgin, as STEIN correctly pointed out (Bas-Empire II 540; 818). Cf. De Cer. 644, 5—7.

(C) 711—712 ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον: the point beyond the forum of Constantine at which the Mesē divides, one branch going on to the Golden Gate, the other, via the church of the Holy Apostles, to the

Charisios gate. See MANGO, Brazen House 80; IDEM, Constantinople 30; GUILLAND, Topographie II 75; JANIN, CPByz. 174—176. It represents the modern quarter of Şahzade.

(C) 712 εἰς τὴν Μέσσην: the chief thoroughfare of the City, from the Chalkē of the palace to the forum of Constantine, and on to the Golden Gate. See GUILLAND, Topographie II 69—79; MANGO, Brazen House 78—81; IDEM, Constantinople 27—28; JANIN, CPByz. 88. Strictly speaking, the Mesē went only as far as the forum of Constantine and a little beyond, this section being known as the Πηγά, but the term was extended and applied to both branches which continued to the Golden Gate and the Charisios gate. See above.

(C) 713 αἱ ἑπτὰ σχολαὶ . . . κόμητες: the seven *scholae* based in the East; there had been twelve, including five in the West; Justinian added four supernumerary *scholae*, which were later disbanded. See HALDON, Praetorians 119 and literature. Elements of each *schola* served on a rotational basis in Constantinople; for particular ceremonies — possibly including this one — all the members of the units in question might be involved.

(C) 715 μαγιστριάνοι: members of the *scrinium* of the *magister officiorum* (on whom see BOAK, The Master 24—58; BURY, Administrative System 29—31; JONES, LRE 103; 368f.; 575—587; STEIN, Bas-Empire I 113f.; CLAUSS, Magister 40—45). The term often referred specifically to the *agentes in rebus*, see DAI Comm. 79 (22, 15); BOAK, The Master 73.

(C) 715 φαβρικήσιοι: the *fabricenses* came under the authority of the *magister officiorum*; see JONES, LRE 834—837; 671; O. SEECK, Art. Fabricenses. *RE* VI (1909) 1925—1930, see 1925f.; GROSSE, Militär-geschichte 97f.; see HALDON, Praetorians 114f. and literature. Those referred to here are most probably the *barbaricarii* who produced gold- and silver-decorated parade armour.

(C) 715 τάξις τῶν ἐπάρχων καὶ τοῦ ἐπάρχου: i. e. of the praetorian prefects and the Eparch of the City. On the former, the *praefectiani*, see JONES, LRE 586—592; on the latter, *ibid.* 592—593.

(C) 715—716 ἀργυροπράται . . . σύστημα: i. e. of all the craft and trad-

ing bodies under the City Eparch's authority. The *argyropratai* (*argentarii*) were not simply silversmiths, but functioned also as bankers, arranging loans, transfers and deposits. See JONES, LRE 863—864; HENDY, Studies 242—253.

(C) 717 μέγρι τῆς Χαλκῆς τοῦ παλατίου: the Chalkē, the brazen gate of the palace. See JANIN, CPByz. 110—111; and esp. MANGO, Brazen House 97ff. It was situated at the end of the Mesē, at the eastern end of the south side of the Augousteion, facing the Great Church.

(C) 718—719 ὁ ἀδμισσιονάλιος: the *comes admissionum*, under the overall authority of the *magister officiorum*. The post was by Justinian's time normally awarded to the senior decurion of the *ordo silentiariorum*: see OSTROGORSKY—STEIN, Krönungsordnungen 206—210; JONES, LRE 582; R. GUILLAND, Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. Le silentiaire. 'Ο Σιλεντιάριος, in: Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον IV. Athens 1967—1968, 33—46, see 39f. (= IDEM, Titres et fonctions XVII). This *comes admissionum/admissionalios* must not be confused with the later official similarly titled: it is generally assumed that the later *admissionalios* who appears in the *De caerimoniis* in ceremonies of the eighth century and later is the older *comes dispositionum* (BURY, Administrative System 119; BOAK, The Master 66—67, followed by OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 309). In fact, as OSTROGORSKY—STEIN, Krönungsordnungen, loc. cit., made clear, it is the earlier *comes admissionum* who becomes the *epi tēs katastaseōs* (during the eighth century), the later *admissionalios* being the older *secundicerius* or *proximus* of the *admissionales*: the *epi tēs katastaseōs* has the *silentiarioi* under his authority, and the *admissionalios* is clearly also subordinate to him, see De Cer. 269, 14sq. and cf. De Cer. 23, 7—8; 238, 2sq. The *scrinium dispositionum* and its *comes*, always of relatively low status, seem to disappear during the sixth century — possibly merging with another palatine *scrinium*. As OSTROGORSKY—STEIN, Krönungsordnungen 206, point out the duties of the *scrinium dispositionum* in fact had little in common with those of the later *epi tēs katastaseōs* and the silentiaries, which did, however, carry on the duties of the *admissionales*. See also JONES, LRE 578; note also F. DÖLGER, review of OSTROGORSKY—STEIN, Krönungsordnungen, in: BZ 36 (1936) 154.

(C) 719 τὸν προτίκτωρα: the corps of *protectores* was merged by this time into that of the *protectores domestici* under the *comes domesticorum*. The title *protector* was awarded as an honour to deserving soldiers and to non-commissioned officers, but could also designate membership of the palatine corps of *protectores* and *protectores domestici*. They were originally an elite group of officers, but by the middle of the sixth century had become a ceremonial and parade-ground guard only. See JONES, LRE 636ff.; 657—658; HALDON, Praetorians 130—134. The officer named here is almost certainly the *comes* of the *scholae* of *domestici protectores* — the custom of referring to the commander of a corps by the nominativised name of the corps he commanded was usual: cf. ὁ ἐξκούβιτος, ὁ ἰκανάτος etc. and ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 332—333; and supra on (C) 475—478.

(C) 719 τὸν θριαμβευτήν: see REISKE, Comm. 598; 717—719. The identity of this “official” is unclear. Possibly the *comes dispositionum* — see on *admissionarios* above. Or he might also be equivalent to the deme *melistēs*, first attested in 562 — see CAMERON, Circus Factions 260. He was responsible probably for the recitation of the *thriambeutalion* or triumphal acclamation, although in this example it is declaimed by the *admissionarios*.

(C) 720 ὁ μάγιστρος: the *magister officiorum*. See on (C) 715 above.

(C) 721 τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης: the Golden Gate in the Theodosian walls, at the end of the first branch of the Mesē; the original Golden Gate of the walls of Constantine was known simply as the “old gate” or the “old gate of St. John the Baptist”, being near to the church of the same name built by Constantine I. See GUILLAND, Topographie II 62—63; JANIN, CPByz. 263—264 and esp. 269—273 and 330; MANGO, Constantinople 24—25.

(C) 722 οἱ κουβικουλάριοι: under the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, the eunuch *cubicularii* of the sacred bedchamber were in close attendance upon the emperor. See JONES, LRE 566—570; GUILLAND, Institutions I 269—282; BURY, Administrative System 120. See on (C) 284—285 supra for the later *praipositos*.

(C) 724sq.: this triumph dates from 878: while the Paulicians had been defeated and Chrysocheir killed in the battle near Bathys

Ryax in 872, there is no evidence that Tephrikē itself was taken until 878/879, the date at which Germanikeia fell (see HONIGMANN, *Ostgrenze* 61—63; *TIB* II 82—83; VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes* II/1, 82—94 (M. CANARD), and *Th. Cont.* 280, 11 ff.), as evidenced in this heading. While the date of the capture of Tephrikē is debated (see, for example, VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes* II/2, 34—35; 47—49 [M. CANARD]) the heading here does suggest that OIKONOMIDÈS is right in arguing for a later date for the fall of Tephrikē rather than the traditionally accepted 872 (see, for example, VOGT, *Basile* 361—363). See OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 350 and n. 355 with literature; and note *Th. Cont.* 284, 3—5. It cannot be later than 879, if only because Basil's son Constantine died shortly after their return from the campaign. See below on (C) 732; and as LEMERLE has convincingly shown, it must actually have occurred in 878, and not 879, as suggested by OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance*, loc. cit. See P. LEMERLE, *L'Histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques*. *TM* 5 (1973) 1—144; also McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory* 154 and n. 84. For Germanikeia (Mar^oaš), see *TIB* II 82—83; HONIGMANN, *Ostgrenze* 84—86. For a contemporary miniature of Basil together with Constantine, Leo and Alexander (in cod. Par. gr. 510, dated to 879) see SPATHARAKIS, *Portrait* 96—99 and fig. 62; and esp. I. KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, *The Portrait of Basil I in Paris gr. 510*. *JÖB* 27 (1978) 19—24.

For the structure of the triumph, see McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory* 155—157; IDEM, *Ceremonies* 18—19 and note also 4, n. 11.

(C) 727 τὴν Ἱέρειαν (τὰ Ἡρία, schol. ἱερίας L): cf. *Th. Cont.* 451, 17: τὰ Ἡρία; 452, 47: ἡ Ἡρία; see also (C) 743. Hiereia, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus. See on (C) 702 above, and *De Cer.* 373, 15sq. There seems to have been a wide variety of alternative spellings. For the origins of the name, alternative spellings and a detailed discussion, see PERTUSI, in: *G. Pisid., De Exp. Pers.* I 157 and *Comm.* 144—147.

(C) 727—729 ὑπαντησάσης . . . κατεσκευασμένων: cf. the similar reception (although at Hiereia itself) prepared for Heraclius after his return from the Persian war in 626: *Theoph.* 328, 2—6; see also McCORMACK, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* 84—89; McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory* 70—72.

(C) 729 ἡ σύγκλητος πᾶσα: it is difficult to know in exactly what sense

sygklētos should be taken here: the senate proper, made up of the chief officers of the civil and military administration in Constantinople, together with others selected by the emperors according to their personal preference; or the "formal" senate, that is, all those holding dignities of "senatorial" status: *dishypatoi*, *hypatoi*, *vestitores*, *silentiarioi*, *apo eparchōn*, *stratēlatai* (see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 288; 295—296; BECK, Senat und Volk 57—58; OSTROGORSKY, Geschichte 204; and in general Ai. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, Ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ Βυζαντινὸν κράτος. Athens 1949). In addition, the term *συγκλητικός* also described functional officers under the authority of the various *sekreta* — see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 108, n. 64; 124, n. 73; also 99, n. 57. In this instance, the senate proper seems to be intended. See McCORMICK, Eternal Victory 200ff.; and Ai. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, Silentium. *BZ* 44 (1951) 79—85.

(C) 731 ἐν τῷ τοῦ Προδρόμου ναῶ: situated in the Hebdomon region, see JANIN, CPByz. 139—140; 446—447; IDEM, Églises et monastères 413—415.

(C) 732 Κωνσταντῖνῳ τῷ νέῳ: the eldest son of Basil I, co-emperor from 869 until his death on Sept. 3rd 879: cf. P. KARLIN-HAYTER, Quel est l'empereur Constantin le nouveau commémoré dans le synaxaire au 3. Septembre? *Byz* 36 (1966) 624—626; F. HALKIN, Trois dates historiques précisées grace au Synaxaire. *Byz* 24 (1954) 14ff.; and cf. V. GRUMEL, La VI^e session du concile photien de 879—880. À propos de la mémoire liturgique, le 3 Septembre, de l'empereur Constantin le Nouveau. *Anal. Boll.* 85 (1967) 336—337. See also OSTROGORSKY, Geschichte 195; 199; and Th. Cont. 345, 4sq.

(C) 733 ἐν τῷ ναῶ . . . Ἀβραμιτῶν: JANIN, CPByz. 455; IDEM Églises et monastères 4—6. The church was situated outside the City, in the Triton region, near to the Golden Gate.

(C) 734—735 ἄμα καὶ φλαμούλων τινῶν λιτῶν: (military) standards, processional insignia, seemingly with no special adornment or decoration, which belonged either to the ordinary troops with whom Basil and Constantine had campaigned, or to the populace and the organised guilds or *systemata*. For λιτός as simple or plain (in particular of titles and dignities) see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 290 and notes. The term was also applied to religious processions; and it is

not impossible that in this example banners bearing religious motifs — icons, extracts from the scriptures and so forth — are meant. See on (C) 781 *infra*. In palaeographical context λιτός (λιτογραφία) designates the majuscule script; see B. ATSALOS, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine. 1^{ère} partie: Termes désignant le livre-manuscrit et l'écriture* ('Ελληνικά, παράρτ. 21). Thessalonike 1971, 217—229.

These *phlamoula* are in contrast to the much more elaborate standards paraded for foreign visitors (on whom see on [C] 737 *infra*): the gold-embroidered silk imperial banner carried by soldiers of the great *Hetaireia*, for example (De Cer. 576, 21—22), or the simple imperial gold standards (De Cer. 577, 1—2. 4). These are again different from the various military standards kept for ceremonial occasions and paraded by the tagmatic troops, the *Hetaireia* and other parade-soldiers: see De Cer. 575, 16—20, for standards of this type which were stored in particular churches and chapels of the palace precincts (see on [C] 489 above); and also different from the ordinary standards of the parade regiments and active units of the *tagmata* and related corps: cf. De Cer. 579, 16—17. 21. The standards and insignia are referred to by a variety of more-or-less technical terms: φλάμουλα, square or rectangular silk banners attached to a spear, with or without an embroidered motif. Imperial *phlamoula* were surmounted by a cross, and two of these at least were of gold, while another was of gold-embroidered silk (De Cer. 576, 21; 577, 1—5; 579, 16. 21; and 608, 14—16; 609, 10). Φλάμουλον was also a generic term, of course, and could designate “standard” or “banner” in general, particularly in a military context: note the parading of captured *phlamoula* at (C) 744—745; and cf. De Cer. 613, 1. 6—7. 10. 21—22; 614, 10; 615, 2. 5—6. 13; and cf. Anon. Vári 3, 15. 17—18. 20 (DENNIS 1, 64. 66. 69); and De Cer. 305, 7; Niceph., Praec. 14, 28. 30; 18, 30—31. Note that the Anon. Vári (3, 12 [DENNIS, 1, 62]) refers to the βασιλικὸν φλάμουλον present with the emperor.

Apart from *phlamoula*, there are the so-called ‘Ρωμαϊκά σκῆπτρα, possibly of *labarum*-like form (see below, and De Cer. 210, 24—25), divided into those called βῆλα (Lat. *vela*) and those termed simply σκῆπτρα (see De Cer. 11, 18—19), used regularly on ceremonial occasions (De Cer. 15, 2. 4; 194, 15; 205, 11—12; 210, 24; 211, 13; 218, 21; 575, 16; 585, 1—2; 591, 8—9; 593, 11—12; 620, 3). Twelve

of the *skēptrā* were stored in the church of the Lord, three more in the palatine chapel of St. Stephen of Daphnē. The original twelve may be those represented on the base of the column of Arcadius — see GRABAR, L'empereur 76; the later Pseudo-Codinus (IV 195, 29—196, 12) refers to two groups of six imperial standards, each with a different image upon it: the *Archistratēgos* (Michael, see on [C] 426 above); the Fathers of the Church; a cross with saints Demētrios, Prokopios and the two Theodores; St. George; a dragon; and the mounted figure of the emperor.

Distinct from these are the εὐτυχία or πτυχία, usually separated from the *skēptrā*, sometimes referred to as τὰ ἕτερα σκῆπτρα (De Cer. 11, 19; and 585, 1—2). From the name it is probable that they bore a representation of the figure of Victory or some such related image; and from their classification with the *skēptrā* or as “the other *skēptrā*”, they were probably also of traditional *labarum*-like form (see De Cer. 15, 4; 575, 16; 591, 9; 593, 12). Seven of the latter were kept in the chapel of St. Stephen of Daphnē.

Finally, a group of standards or insignia often referred to by name, sometimes simply as “the other insignia” — λάβουρα, καμπηδικτούρια, σίγνα, δρακόντια, βάνδα. These are all military in origin. Whether the *laboura* are actually in the form of such, i. e. as described by Eusebius for Constantine's original *labarum* (see Eusebius, Vita Constantini I 30—31) is difficult to say, although there is no particular reason for doubting that they were at least similar. The καμπηδικτούρια seem to be descended from the batons or ensigns of the older Roman *campiductores*, field-officers responsible for parade- and marching-order from the fourth century at least. See HALDON, Praetorians 108ff.; 121 and literature. Σίγνα, δρακόντια and βάνδα are again all military standards, the last two (and probably the first) all involving a banner of some sort attached to a spear; the *drakontia* either in the form of a dragon, as described by Ammianus Marcellinus, or with a representation of a dragon. See in general R. GROSSE, Die Fahnen in der römisch-byzantinischen Armee des 4.—10. Jahrhunderts. BZ 24 (1924) 359—372; and HALDON, Praetorians 555—556 with notes. *Signa* seem also to have been referred to by their Greek name, σημεία.

Generically all these standards were referred to as σκεύη: see De Cer. 11, 20—22; 194, 15—16; 205, 11—12; 210, 25; 211, 13—14; 218, 21—22; 575, 18—19; 593, 12; 620, 4. A number were kept in the

church of the Lord — see above; and JANIN, *Églises et monastères* 511—512: 5 *kampidiktouria*, 5 *laboura*, 12 *signa*, 12 *drakontia*, 8 *banda*, along with 18 *σκευοφορικά*, probably ensign-holders or belts. For military standards and flags, see also G. T. DENNIS, *Byzantine Battle Flags. Byz. Forschungen* 8 (1982) 51—59 with illustrations and further references. These latter insignia were paraded by special officers from the *tagmata*, or by the sailors of the imperial fleet, at least in the tenth century. Thus the *protiktōres*, *eutyphoroi* and *skēptrophoroi* in the *Scholai*; the *skeuophoroi* and *signophoroi* in the *Exkoubiton*; *bandophoroi*, *labourēsioi* and *sēmeiophoroi* in the *Vigla*; and *bandophoroi* and *sēmeiophoroi* in the *Hikanatoi* were responsible for parading the various ensigns of the same name: see HALDON, *Praetorians* 287—296 and notes. It is unclear whether these were actually taken on campaign, however, or were reserved for imperial ceremonial use and kept otherwise in the imperial chapels referred to — see *De Cer.* 591, 9—10, for example. If, as seems likely, they were all ancient standards handed down over the years, then the latter is the more probable. That such insignia were associated with the emperor's presence in particular is suggested by a passage in Anna Komnēnē (*Alexiad* VI 11, 2), where the presence of certain *σημαίας τε καὶ σχῆπτρα ἀργυρόηλα* sent by Alexios deceived the Turks into withdrawing from a siege on the assumption that the emperor and his troops must have been present in the invested city. See also *ibid.* V 5, 7.

Other groups of palatine guardsmen could also parade these ensigns, as well as those of the *tagmata* and fleet, however. The *kandidatoi* (*De Cer.* 575, 17; 585, 3) or the great *Hetaireia* (e.g. *De Cer.* 576, 21), the crews of the imperial dromons (*De Cer.* 577, 1—5) or the *prōtostratōr* (*De Cer.* 608, 13—16; 609, 10) are all mentioned in this context. Distinct from all these insignia, of course, were the ceremonial crosses (see on [C] 489 above), and other imperial *signa*, such as the golden lance referred to at *De Cer.* 500, 11—12 and 505, 18, for example. The exact form of these devices — as well as of the smaller, hand-held insignia such as the golden *akakia* (successor to the older senatorial *mappa*) — has been much debated, particularly with reference to the evidence of numismatic representations. See most recently GRIERSON, *DOC* III 133—134; 138—141 and accompanying literature; also HALDON, *Praetorians*, *loc. cit.* Note that while the *labarum*-type of ensign may first have been re-introduced

under Theophilus, officers of this name probably existed continuously from the late Roman period in the relevant palatine units. For a detailed discussion of the imagery and form of some of these, see GRABAR, *L'empereur* 74—77; and note EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 42—43; and WESSEL, *Insignien* 398—410.

The importance of all these devices as symbols of both imperial power and of heavenly support for the Roman state is not to be underestimated. See, for example, the references in HALDON, *Praetorians* 556, and the honoured position accorded to the ensigns in the various ceremonies referenced above. Those that were taken on campaign, whether imperial or regimental ensigns, were accorded a position of honour on the battlefield and on the march. See DENNIS, art. cit. 56—57. For a general discussion, see A. PERTUSI, *Insegne del potere sovrano a Bisanzio e nei paesi di influenza bizantina*, in: *Simboli e simbologia nell'alto medioevo (Sett. Stud. Centro Ital. Stud. Alto Medioevo XXIII)*. Spoleto 1976, 481—563.

(C) 737 ὁ δὲ ἑπαρχος: he was responsible, together with the *praipositos*, *epi tēs katastaseōs*, the *silentiarioi* and the palatine dignitaries of the *kouboukleion*, for the preparation of the City and the palace to receive the emperor or visiting potentates (see [C] 795sq.). The description here is paralleled in much greater detail by those given for the receptions for the embassies from Tarsos (31st May 946) (De Cer. 570, 11; 582, 22), from the Emir of Amida, the Buwayhids and Saif ad-Daulah of Aleppo (30th Aug. 946) (De Cer. 593, 1; 594, 14) and from Olga of Russia (9th Sept. 957) (De Cer. 594, 15; 598, 12); the descriptions here provide a vast wealth of detail and supplement the rather brief descriptions in this text. For a commentary see TOYNBEE, *Const. Porph.* 499—504; and cf. EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 78—83; and note that the frequent decoration of the City with flowers recalls its alternative name (or one of them) ἡ ἄνθοῦσα: See G. Pisid., *Bell. Av.*, *Comm.* at 212 to line 66, with literature. The tradition was ancient, of course; see esp. R. TURCAN, *Les guirlandes dans l'antiquité classique. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 14 (1971) 92—139, see 108ff.

(C) 739 μερσίνης: note KOUKOULÈS, *EEBZ* 19 (1949) 75, see e. g. De Cer. 574, 1. For the use of laurel as a sign of victory, see REISKE, *Comm.* 578—583; and note Harūn b. Yahya's account of an impe-

rial triumph, which corroborates much of the detail in this text: see, for example, 389; and cf. 383ff.

(C) 739—740 ἀπὸ σκαραμαγγίων διαφόρων: *skaramaggia* occur in similar contexts as decorations, hung up along with precious silks and other weaves to decorate processional routes. See (C) 833; and on *skaramaggia* and *sendes*, see (C) 225 and (C) 222 above. See also De Cer. 571, 9sq.; 572, 2—21; 573, 6—7. 11. 16—17 etc. Note that differently-embroidered *skaramaggia*, kept in the palace especially for such occasions, were also employed: see De Cer. 571, 10—11 and 580, 19—581, 8. Along with *sendes* and *vēla*, these cloths were all used as hangings — see, for example, De Cer. 573, 13. Note also that *skaramaggia* which were actually worn were also used in the same way as those used as hangings, but as a form of *tableau vivant*: see on (C) 240—241 supra; and cf. Harūn b. Yahya 389. The term *skaramaggion* seems also to have been used adjectivally, of any richly-decorated silks, such as, for example, an altar-cloth: see Attaleiatēs, Diataxis 1303; Testament d'Eustathios Boilas 130. This seems also to be the case with some of the examples cited from the *De caerimoniis* here.

(C) 740 πολυκανδήλων: the hanging of lamps, both precious and less valuable, was also a common element on these occasions — see on (C) 833 infra; and compare the preparations made for the arrival of the envoys from Tarsos, De Cer. 570, 11sq., in which the lamps from the various churches and chapels of the City were employed: from Sts. Sergios and Bacchos, from the Nea Ekklēsia of Basil I, from the Blachernai churches, the church of the Virgin at the Pharos, and so on (see De Cer., loc. cit.). See the comments with further illustrations at McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory* 208. On *polykandēla*, see GAUTIER, at Pantokratōr Typikon 38 and n. 30. Lamps were also a regular part of liturgical processions; and indeed the similarities between the triumphal processions described here, with their regular halts for prayer and visits to churches along the route, the singing and acclamations of the demes and others, and many other features, with the public processions of the Church, are numerous. See MATEOS, *Typicon*, Index (V) λιτή (ii), 304 and references; cf. for example, *ibid.* I 324, 1sq.; and see D. R. DENDY, *The Use of Lights in Christian Worship*. London 1959, 1—16; 72ff.; and G. GALAVARIS,

Some Aspects of Symbolic Use of Lights in the Eastern Church: Candles, Lamps and Ostrich Eggs. *BMGS* 4 (1978) 69—78 with literature.

(C) 742 ἐν δὲ τῷ λιβαδίῳ . . . τένται: the meadow outside the walls of Theodosius, by the Golden Gate, and in the Triton district (JANIN, CPByz. 455), used as indicated here for parades of booty and so forth, and where the imperial household and guard established a temporary encampment. Cf. (C) 829: the emperor waited until the prisoners and the booty had arrived before entering Constantinople in triumph. This meadow is not to be confused with the district τὰ Λιβάδια, outside the Theodosian walls and near the gate of Kalgrou. It incorporated the church of the Pēgē. See JANIN, CPByz. 381 and references; IDEM, Églises et monastères 223—228. On the Triton, and with a different view from JANIN, see MANGO, Constantinople 33 and n. 58.

(C) 743—747 τοὺς εὐγενεῖς . . . Πόρτης: see, for example, Th. Cont. 271, 1sq. for a shorter account; and Th. Cont. 284, 2—5. This was a standard procedure in victory celebrations: booty, weapons and military equipment, together with captured banners and standards, were shown off to the populace; gifts were handed out to senate and court; chariot-races were held, preceded by a second parading of booty and captives. See on (C) 808sq. infra; and compare the description of victory parades and games in the hippodrome, and the accompanying acclamations and hymns, at De Cer. 607, 16—612, 17; and 612, 19—615, 15, whose details parallel those of the two triumphs described here — of Basil and Theophilus — very closely. On Theophilus' triumph, see below on (C) 808sq. and cf. Sym. Mag. 634, 13—22. For similar triumphs see, for example, Theoph. 433, 10sq. (of Constantine V) and De Cer. 438, 4sq. (Nicephorus II in 963). Note also Leo Diac. 28, 15sq.; and see MARKOPOULOS, Témoignage 113 (cod. Vat. gr. 163, c. 21, 6—8); note also Yahya's account of the triumph of Basil the *parakoimōmenos* in 958, in VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes II/2, 98 (M. CANARD); cf. Harūn b. Yahya 383ff. On θρίαμβος/θριαμβεύω see REISKE's note, Comm. 717—719 with references; and on (C) 767 infra.

(C) 747 ἀνοίγισις . . . Πόρτης: the Golden Gate had three gates: a central "golden" gate, flanked by two lesser gates: see JANIN,

CPByz. 272 and literature; and cf. (C) 769—770 — the opening of this middle gate seems to have occurred only on such ceremonial occasions.

(C) 749—750 ἱμάτιον ἐπιλώρικον: a garment worn over a *lōrikion*, or mail coat, was described as an *epilōrikion*. This was a long padded jacket which could serve as a defence in itself, but was intended to be worn over the actual mail coat. See Leo, Tact. V 3; Syll. Tact. XXXIX 1; Niceph., Praec. 11, 10sq.; and cf. De Cer. 670, 3; De Obsid. Toleranda 48, 5—6. See HALDON, Milit. Technology 34—37. The ἱμάτιον ἐπιλώρικον is clearly not a piece of defensive equipment, however, but rather a silk coat, richly decorated, worn over the emperor's cuirass or *lōrikion*. See on (C) 837—838 infra; and cf. Dig. Akr. 58, 258sq.: ἐπιλούρικον λευκοτρίβλαττον; 206, 736: ἐπιλώρικον ὀλόσηρον καστόριν. On καστόρι(ο)ν, see on (B) 108—109 above; and Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos 1723: ἐπιλώρικα βασιλικά ὄξυκάστορα. For imperial ceremonial costume in general, on which a great deal of work is still to be done, see GRIERSON, DOC II/1, 70—88; IDEM, DOC III/1, 117—141; and M. F. HENDY, in: DOC IV (forthcoming); A. ALFÖLDI, Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser. *Mitteil. d. Deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, Röm. Abt.* 50 (1935) 1—171; G. P. GALAVARIS, The Symbolism of Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins. *Museum Notes (Amer. Numismatic Soc.)* 8 (1958) 99—117; A. HOFMEISTER, Von der Trabea Triumphalis des römischen Kaisers über das byzantinische Lorum zur Stola der abendländischen Herrscher, in: *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, ed. P. E. SCHRAMM, vol. I. Stuttgart 1955, 25—50. Note also EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 64 and n. 3; and REISKE, *Comm.* 583; WESSEL, *Insignien* 369—498, for analysis, description and reference to visual representations. For further analysis of imperial insignia, see J. DEÉR, Der Globus des spätrömischen und des byzantinischen Kaisers. *BZ* 54 (1961) 53—85; 291—318 (repr. in: IDEM, *Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschertum* 70ff.); together with further work of the same, cited in the notes below.

(C) 750 καγκελλωτόν: cf. Lat. *cancelli*, grating; DU CANGE, s. v. 531.

(C) 750—751 ἐν ταῖς ὄρναις: cf. REISKE, *Comm.* 280—281: ὄρνα, Lat. *ora*, cf. *ornatus*; verb *orno*; cf. De Cer. 255, 7: τριβλατίων ὄρναμένων; and see GUILLAND, *REG* 62 (1949) 330, n. 1; 345.

(C) 751—752 *σπαθὶν ζωστήκιν*: in contrast to a sword slung from a belt worn over the shoulder, *κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν τάξιν*, cf. Leo, *Tact.* VI 2; *Syll. Tact.* XXXIX 2. The sword slung from a waist-belt may be a sabre, introduced from the steppes during the eighth or ninth century, described also as a *παραμήριον* (but not to be confused with the classical and later short swords thus described — see, for example, *Just.*, Nov. 85, 4). The characteristics of the Byzantine *paramērion*: worn from the waist, single-edged, clearly distinguish it from earlier swords or long knives so described. Cf. Leo, *Tact.* VI 2; *Syll. Tact.* XXXVIII 5; XXXIX 2. But whether the *spathia* worn from a belt at (C) 751—752, 838, 842 and *Niceph.*, Praec. 1, 24; 2, 11; 11, 32 are to be identified as such *paramēria* or sabres is impossible to say. Given the influence of steppe military technology and the presence of Turkic mercenaries in the *Hetaireia* (and possibly other units too) at this time and later, it is not impossible. See HALDON, *Milit. Technology* 31. The sword referred to here was presumably a purely ceremonial sword, similar to that described as *τῆς προελεύσεως* at (C) 218—219; and see *De Cer.* 80, 12—13: *καὶ σπαθίον ὁμοίως χρυσοῦν διὰ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων ἠμφισμέμον*. For the sword as an element of the imperial insignia, see WESSEL, *Insignien* 412ff.

(C) 752 *καισαρίκιν*: a gold circlet, the older *stephanos*, which had become the insignia of a Caesar: see EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 67—68 and 67, n. 7. The text makes it clear, however, that *kaisarikion* described the type of diadem rather than its function, at this time: in the same way that *kamēlaukion* describes a type of headgear (in this case, an enclosed hemispherical head-dress: see REISKE, *Comm.* 652ff., and J. DEÉR, *Der Ursprung der Kaiserkrone. Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte* 8 [1950] 51—87, see 69—81; note OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 98, n. 53). Cf. GUILLAND, *Institutions* II 37; also *De Cer.* 522, 7—8: *τὸν στέφανον τὸ λεγόμενον καισαρίκιον*; 634, 16—17; and note 218, 24—219, 1. For general comments, see GRIERSON, *DOC* III/1, 127ff.; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* loc. cit.; WESSEL, *Insignien* 373—397; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, *Stemmata* 281, n. 9.

(C) 753 *κλιβάνιον*: a lamellar cuirass (usually of interlocked iron, bronze or boiled leather plates or *petala*), in this case of gold, sleeveless, waist-length, and either enclosing the trunk entirely, or of plain leather at the back and of interlinked plates at the front. See

Leo, Tact. V 3; VI 4; Syll. Tact. XXXVIII 4, 7; XXXIX 1; and cf. *ibid.* XXX 2 and XXXI 1; Leo, Tact. VI 30; 34; Niceph., Praec. 11, 20sq. See HALDON, *Milit. Technology* 34—35 and notes 121, 122 for illustrations. One of the best-known and clearest examples is that worn by Basil II triumphing over his foes in the Psalter under his name. See I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II.* *DOP* 16 (1962) 243—276, see pl. 17 (cod. Marc. gr. 17, fol. 3^r).

(C) 753 ποδόψελλα: cf., for example, Leo, Tact. VI 25; HALDON, *Milit. Technology* 37 and n. 126. For armour as part of the insignia, WESSEL, *Insignien* 412—417. On the lance (and shield) as elements in both imperial coronation and processional insignia, see J. DEÉR, *Byzanz und die Herrschaftszeichen des Abendlandes.* *BZ* 50 (1957) 405—436, see 427f. with literature (repr. in: IDEM, *Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschertum* 62ff.).

(C) 755 φακιόλιν δίκην προπολώματος: the *propolōma* was a turban-like head-dress worn by women — originally patricians, later associated in particular with the empress; the *phakiolion* was a similar head-dress for men. See De Cer. 214, 12—13; 258, 18; 259, 9; 623, 11; 624, 6—7; and cf. VOGT, *Cér.* II 21, 26 and 22, n. 1; REISKE, *Comm.* 584—586; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 74, n. 1; Ps.-Cod. II 159, n. 1. See also DEÉR, *Byzanz und die Herrschaftszeichen des Abendlandes* (cited at [C] 753 above), see 420—427. Cf. *Narratio de Sancta Sophia* 285, 9—10 (where the *phakiolion* was unwound); note V. Theod. Syk. 157, 54 and commentary 261.

(C) 756 ἔχων ... χρυσοῦφάντου: see REISKE, *Comm.* 586.

(C) 757 χιώμασιν: see also (C) 839, 843; and De Cer. 188, 24; 190, 7; 191, 20: a richly decorated caparison for the horse's hindquarters; see DU CANGE 1724 s. v. χαιώματα; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 44; Ps.-Cod. VII 270, 3—7 (but meaning harness).

(C) 758 τοὺς δημάρχους καὶ τὰ δύο μέρη: the leading officers of the Blue and Green hippodrome "clubs" or factions. They were organised like the other *systemata* or *collegia* of the City under the authority of the Eparch. As official clubs supporting the chariot-racing teams of the hippodrome they were divided into City and peratic groups

— *politikoi* and *peratikoi*: see CAMERON, Circus Factions 93—94. By the ninth century, although the process begins in the sixth century, they had been fully incorporated into imperial ceremonial and ritual. There is an immense literature: see OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 326—327 for their organisation; GUILLAND, *Topographie* I 420—441; CAMERON, Circus Factions 230—270 for their history and development. For the role of the “guilds” on such occasions, see McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory* 204—205 with notes 74—77.

(C) 759 *καμίσια*: see on (C) 243 *supra*.

(C) 759 *στεφάνια σημεντέινα*: Lat. *segmentata*, cf. DU CANGE 1362 s. v.; REISKE, *Comm.* 586; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 69 and n. 1; cf. De Cer. 276, 19; 589, 12.

(C) 761 *ἐγχείρια*: see De Cer. 577, 12; 589, 13; and note De Cer. 621, 17sq. Such kerchiefs were used also to collect the trimmed hair of imperial infants. See EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 13; REISKE, *Comm.* 586. On the *encheirion* as a curtain or hanging associated with an icon, see V. NUNN, *The Encheirion as Adjunct to the Icon in the Middle Byzantine Period*. *BMGS* 10 (1986) 73—102.

(C) 762 *τὰ νικητικὰ ... σαγία*: for *sagion* see on (C) 225, 670—671 above. These were special garments worn presumably only for such special victory or triumphal celebrations. Special sets of clothing for a wide range of occasions were kept in the palace and elsewhere for all those involved in such public events, both the civil administrative officials, the heads of *sekreta* as well as their staffs, and military officers, members of the senate, and so on. The generic term for such garments was *ἀλλαξίματα*; although in its narrower sense it is applied specifically to garments for the emperors and their immediate retinue. See on (C) 700—701 above; and OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 131, n. 96; 191, n. 195; DIETHART, *Lexikalische Rara* 12/5 with literature.

(C) 762 *καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν*: i. e. the various personnel of the two factions: see OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 326—327 and literature: *deutereuontes*, *chartoularioi* and *notarioi*, poets and *melistai* or composers, *geitoniarchai*, *archontes*, *hēniochoi* (*phaktionarioi* and *mikropanitai*, charioteers).

(C) 763—766 δόξα Θεῶ . . . δεσπότηαι: cf. De Cer. 611, 3—612, 13 and EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 25; VOGT, *Cér. Comm.* I 79—80.

(C) 767 νικητικά . . . ἀπελατικοὶ στρατηγικοί: see on (C) 850: ἐπινίκια; and see (C) 868. The *nikētika* or *epinikia* were victory hymns. A sample of such, introduced by their first line, is given at De Cer. 609, 4—7; and for victory acclamations of the soldiers, see De Cer. 372, 1—373, 13. Cf. Th. Cont. 271, 6—7: τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νικητικὰς ἐκβοήσεις καὶ εὐφημίας; 284, 4—5: παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τὰς ἐπινικίους φωνάς. For the various types of *apelatikoî* or processional chants, see the note of VOGT, *Cér. Comm.* I 80—81; and note REISKE, *Comm.* 350—351. Note also VOGT, *Cér. Comm.* I 78—79; and see J. HANDSCHIN, *Das Zeremonienwerk Kaiser Konstantins und die sangbare Dichtung (Rektorsprogramm der Universität Basel für die Jahre 1940 und 1941)*. Basel 1942, 8f.; 108; P. MAAS, *Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner*. *BZ* 21 (1912) 28—51; BECK, *Volksliteratur* 25—26; O. KRESTEN, *Pallida mors Sarracenorum. Zur Wanderung eines literarischen Topos von Liudprand von Cremona bis Otto von Freising und zu seiner byzantinischen Vorlage*. *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 17 (1975) 23—75, esp. 38ff., and WELLESZ, *Music and Hymnography* 87—106, for a detailed account within the wider context of Byzantine music. Note also CAMERON, *Circus Factions* 246ff.; and E. JAMMERS, *Abendland und Byzanz. Kirchenmusik. Byzanz und die abendländische Musik*. *RB A I*, fasc. 3 (1969) 169—227. For the pre-Christian Roman tradition, see W. EHLERS, *Art. Triumphus*. *RE VII/1 A* (1939) 493—511, see 509—510. On the alternative meaning of *epinikia*, as announcements or bulletins of victory, see McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory*, *Index*, 425; and literature.

(C) 771 τὸν ἀπομονέα: see on (C) 686 above and (B) 58 above. On this occasion the emperor's appointee was Baanēs, the *patrikios*, *praipositos* and *sakellarios*. See (B) 48 above; and for Baanēs, R. GUILAND, *Patrices des règnes de Basile I^{er} et de Léon VI*. *BZ* 63 (1970) 300—317, see 301 (= *IDEM*, *Titres et fonctions XI*).

(C) 772 στεφανὸν χρυσοῦν: see on (C) 696 *supra*; and REISKE, *Comm.* 587. The “old style” manifestly relates to the sixth-century ceremony preceding this one in the text. See Th. Cont. 271, 4—5: Basil enters and celebrates a triumph ὡς πάλαι.

(C) 776—778 ἐν τῷ Σίγματι . . . τῷ Φόρῳ: i. e. the length of the branch of the Mesē from the Golden Gate as far as the Forum of Constantine. Note that, following the ancient tradition, the emperor dismounts at the entrance to the original city, near the Forum of Constantine — see REISKE's note, Comm. 588. See GUILLAND, Topographie II 75—76; and on (C) 711—712 supra. See JANIN, CPByz., map I; and for the various points named along the Mesē, GUILLAND, Topographie II 50. For the places named here:

the Sigma: JANIN, CPByz. 424—425 (not to be confused with the hall of the same name in the great palace; see JANIN, loc. cit.; GUILLAND, Topographie I 94—119).

the Exakionion: JANIN, CPByz. 351—352; GUILLAND, Topographie II 62—65; MANGO, Constantinople 47.

the Xērolophos: the seventh hill of the City, on which the Forum of Arcadius was constructed. See JANIN, CPByz. 71—72; 439—440; GUILLAND, Topographie II 59—61; MANGO, Constantinople 28.

the Bous: the *forum bovis*, so called after the large bronze ox-head statue, brought originally from Pergamon. See JANIN, CPByz. 69—70; MANGO, Constantinople 28.

the Capitol: see on (C) 711—712 above.

the Philadelphion: see JANIN, CPByz. 410; MANGO, Constantinople 28—30 and plan I: it was near the present-day mosque of Lâleli, not that of Şehzade.

the Tauros: the Forum of Theodosius, see on (C) 695—696 above.

the Artopoulion: the district of the bakeries or bread-shops; see JANIN, CPByz. 95—96; 315; MANGO, Constantinople 31 and n. 52.

the Forum: that is, of Constantine: see JANIN, CPByz. 62—64. On the chief ceremonial routes from the palace through the City, see below, and McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory* 214ff.; and for the positions at which the demes were stationed to acclaim the emperor, see (C) 850 infra with the scholion to (C) 778.

(C) 779—780 τὸν ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου: one of the two churches in the Forum of Constantine, the other being the oratory of the emperor Constantine himself. See JANIN, CPByz. 62; 64; 412; IDEM, *Églises et monastères* 236—237.

(C) 781 μετὰ λιτῆς: see DU CANGE 817 s. v. ; LAMPE s. v. λιτή (2);

EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 41 and n. 1; 92; and cf. De Cer. 607, 16—17; 614, 21—22. See especially MATEOS, *Typicon*, Index (V) λιτή (ii), 304—305 with references. The term was used both of chants/*troparia* and of liturgical processions. Cf. the verb λιτανεύω (MATEOS, loc. cit.).

(C) 781 τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας: see JANIN, *Églises et monastères* 455—470.

(C) 781—782 τοῦ πραιποσίτου: see on (C) 284—285 above.

(C) 782 τὰ στρατηγικά: see on (C) 749—750 above.

(C) 783 διβιτήσια: a long-sleeved tunic, Lat. *divitisum*. See REISKE, *Comm.* 424—425; VOGT, *Cér. Comm.* I 67; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 59—61; WESSEL, *Insigien* 422—424.

(C) 783 καμπάγια: Lat. *campagus*, military boot/sandal; often worn together with *καμπότουβα*, see De Cer. 439, 7; 442, 22sq.; see REISKE, *Comm.* 419—424; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 64 and n. 3; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛÈS, *BBP* IV 412—413; БОАК, *The Master* 118—119; *Lexikographie* 156 (STEINER). Cf. for example, Lydus, *De Mag.* 22, 9—11; and also Ed. Diocl. 9, 11 (with *Comm.* 246); and see WESSEL, *Insigien* 447—448.

(C) 784 τὴν Μέσην τοῦ Φόρου: i. e. that part of the *Mesē* leading through and out of the Forum of Constantine: see GUILLAND, *Topographie* II 72 and n. 38; and cf. MANGO, *Brazen House* 75.

(C) 785—787 τῶν σκευῶν . . . διαλίθου: the various imperial insignia: see on (C) 734—735 above; and (C) 489 above. See De Cer. 591, 6—10.

(C) 787—788 ἕως τοῦ Μιλίου . . . Ὁρολόγιον: see JANIN, *CPByz.* 103—104; GUILLAND, *Topographie* I 226—232; II 28—31; MANGO, *Brazen House* 47—48 (for the Milion); and JANIN, *CPByz.* 102—103; GUILLAND, *Topographie* I 220—226; II 45f.; MANGO, *Brazen House* 73ff. (for the Horologion); IDEM, *Constantinople* 26—27.

(C) 788—789 ἐν τῷ . . . μητατωρίῳ: the *mētatorion* was a “changing station”, an imperial changing room on the right side of the Great Church, in which the emperor might change one set of vestments for another, according to the occasion. See VOGT, *Cér. Comm.* I 61;

MANGO, Brazen House 64; 72 and n. 198 with literature; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 166, n. 138; GUILLAND, Topographie II 15f.; JANIN, Églises et monastères 461. Other churches in the City also served the same function on such occasions, see (C) 780—782. For the Ὁραία Πύλη, see VOGT, Cér. Comm. I 58—59; GUILLAND, Topographie II 128; JANIN, Églises et monastères 462. This was the main entrance to the Great Church, from the *exōnarthex* to the *esōnarthex*, leading also into the *mētatorion*. Cf. De Cer. 440, 1; and Scylitzes 185, 25. See also MATEOS, Typicon II 85, n. 2; 89 and n. 3. For the rôle of the Agia Sophia in imperial ceremonial, see JANIN, Églises et monastères 468—469; and the references assembled in MATEOS, Typicon, Index (III) 268—269: Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία.

(C) 791—792 ἡ εἴσοδος . . . προελεύσεσιν: for the sense of ἔμπρατος, as used of officials and dignities, see ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 290; here with the sense of “formal” or “official”; cf. (C) 850 and REISKE, Comm. 245. For the formal processional routes from the palace to the Great Church and back, see GUILLAND, Topographie I 220—226; MANGO, Brazen House 73ff.

(C) 793 κλητόριον: see on (C) 284.

(C) 793 τῷ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τρικλίνῳ: the great *triclodium* constructed by Justinian II in 694. See JANIN, CPByz. 116; GUILLAND, Topographie I 153—154; and ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔÈS, Préséance 182, n. 178.

(C) 794 βεστομλιαρήσια: i. e. coins (*miliarēsia*) from the *vestiarion*. See on (C) 95 supra; and HENDY, Studies 412 and n. 175.

(C) 796 ὁ ἔπαρχος: the decoration and preparation of the City was the responsibility of the Eparch: see above (B) 58sq.; (C) 737; and De Cer. 572, 14. 20; 573, 5. 16.

(C) 798—799 ὁ πραιπόσιτος . . . παντός: for the *praipositos*, see on (C) 284—285 above. The responsibility for the procession itself, the acclamations and receptions etc. fell within the competence of the palace. See also on the *epi tēs katastaseōs* ([C] 718—719) and the *kouboukleion* ([C] 486) above.

(C) 799—800 τοῦ μαγίστρου: see on (B) 58 and (C) 26—27 above.

(C) 801—802 καθώς ... ἔθας: with reference to the tradition of leaving a representative or *ek prosōpou* in the City. The reference here is probably Constantine's own gloss to the text at (C) 669—670 and with reference to the practice of his own time.

(C) 805—807 ἀντιλήψεις ... ἐδίδοντο: the distribution of largess and of the captured booty was expected of the victorious returning general or emperor: see, for example, (C) 877sq. At the same time, the granting of imperial dignities and titles was an important part of the ceremonial, intended to emphasise both imperial generosity and the imperial authority as the source of all worldly authority. See, for example, Klet. Phil. 85, 27—86, 11; 97, 10; 99, 9—10; 189, 11sq.; 221, 20—24. Similarly, the rewarding of soldiers and officers — through promotion to higher commands or rank, or the bestowal of insignia and marks of honour etc. — was important. See HALDON, Praetorians 606, n. 1016; and AHRWEILER, Un discours 399, 87—93. Cf. Th. Cont. 271, 1—2; 283, 23—284, 1 (from the *Vita Basilii Iunioris* by Constantine). See also on (C) 261 above. For the terms ἀντιλήψεις and ἀναβιβασμοί, see Klet. Phil. 96—97, n. 50; and DAGRON, Phocas 234, n. 55; and for ἀντίληψις as “aid”/“assistance” both spritual and material, see V. Theod. Syk. 2, 7 and commentary, 168—169.

(C) 808sq. Ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ φοσσάτου ... χιλιάδας κ': this triumph is traditionally dated to 831: cf. BURY, ERE 127—128; VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I 193ff.; ROSSER, Theophilus the Unlucky 155ff.; TIB II 77—78; see Th. Cont. 114, 17sq.; but see W. TREADGOLD, The Chronological Accuracy of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the years 813—845. *DOP* 33 (1979) 159—197, see 172; 178, for a re-dating to 837. Theophilus' expedition was directed against Cilicia, although other Byzantine forces defeated Muslim troops at the same time near Charsianon. Tarsus (Tarsos), al-Massisah (Mop-souestia), Adhanah (Adana), (Eirēnoupolis) and °Ain Zarbah (Anabarza) were among the main fortresses of Muslim Cilicia. See HONIGMANN, Ostgrenze 42—44; HALDON—KENNEDY, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 106—109; for the problem of locating Eirēnoupolis, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Organisation 289 with n. 23; and esp. E. HONIGMANN, Neronias—Ireneopolis in Eastern Cilicia. *Byz* 20 (1955) 39—61; note also REISKE, Comm. 590. It seems to have been very close

to the Muslim fortress town of Harūniyah, cf. HALDON-KENNEDY, Arab-Byzantine Frontier 108; HONIGMANN, Ostgrenze 42—43.

(C) 812—813 τῶν . . . Ἀγαρηῶν: in the previous year (according to the traditional dating) 830 the Caliph al-Ma'mūn had invaded the *thema* of Kappadokia from Tarsos, capturing and destroying Koron, the headquarters of the *stratēgos*. Several other fortresses were attacked and taken; while the Caliph's son °Abbās attacked the district of Melitēnē and Adata. See VASILIEV, Byzance et les Arabes I 101—102. 208; *TIB* II 77; with literature and sources.

(C) 815 ἡ ἀγούστα: the empress Theodora (829—857): later regent for her son Michael III. See OSTROGORSKY, Geschichte 182ff. On the title (signifying “wife of the emperor” rather than “empress”), see W. OHNSORGE, Das Kaisertum der Eirene und die Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen, in: HUNGER, Herrscherbild 281—332, see 286 and n. 14; SPECK, Konstantin 105ff.; St. MASLEV, Die staatsrechtliche Stellung der byzantinischen Kaiserinnen. *BSI* 27 (1966) 308—343; Elisabeth BENSAMMAR, La titulature de l'impératrice et sa signification. *Recherches sur les sources byzantines de la fin du VIII^e à la fin du XII^e siècle*. *Byz* 46 (1976) 243—291; Dionysia MISIOU, Δύο βυζαντινοὶ καθεστωτικοὶ ὄροι (Ἀγούστα καὶ Βασίλισσα). *Βυζαντιακά* 2 (1982) 125—141.

(C) 815 ὁ διέπων: i. e. the *ek prosōpou* of the emperor, usually the *praipositos* (see on [C] 798 above), see BOAK, The Master 53—54, 97; but possibly the *magistros*, q. v.

(C) 816—817 παρεάσαντες . . . πόλεως: not all the *tagmata* accompanied the emperor on military expeditions. In addition, the permanent garrison units, the *Noumera* and the Walls regiment, may also be meant: see HALDON, Praetorians 534, n. 743.

(C) 819—820 ἔνδον τοῦ καγκέλλου τοῦ χαμαιτρικλίνου: *kagkellon* was the usual term for “railing”: see MANGO, Brazen House 74; 85; and DU CANGE 530—531 s. v. κάγκελος/-ον. The “low” *triklinos* was part of the palace of Hieria (see JANIN, CPByz. 148—150). Note also the existence of a *katō triklinos*, possibly in the Blachernai palace or the palace τῶν Καριανοῦ, cf. Klet. Phil. 219, 27 and n. 262; JANIN, CPByz. 125 and n. 1.

(C) 825—826 τὸν ἅγιον Μάμαντα: in the district of Ἅγιος Μάμας, mod. Beşiktaş, north of the Golden Horn and on the European shore of the Bosphorus; it was the site of an imperial palace, a small port and a hippodrome, constructed by Leo I after 469. See JANIN, CPByz. 141; 473—474 and map XI.

(C) 827 ἐν Βλαχέρναις: the quarter of Blachernai, first enclosed within the walls by Heraclius, with extensions and improvements under Leo V and Manuel I (JANIN, CPByz. 265—266). It was also the site of the later imperial residence, from the twelfth century. Before this time it was the site of a sanctuary of the veil of the Virgin, constructed under Pulcheria and Marcian, and the accompanying imperial apartments. There was also a small port attached to this complex. See JANIN, CPByz. 123ff.; and for the walls, *ibid.* 283ff.; and SPECK, *Bellum Avaricum* 34ff.

(C) 827—828 διὰ τοῦ ἔξω τείχους: this was the exterior rampart of the Theodosian walls, also called the προτείχισμα or μικρὸν τεῖχος, originally with 92 small towers, as opposed to the 96 larger towers of the main wall, the ἔσω or μέγα τεῖχος. Between the two ramparts was a *peribolos* with a military road. Rather than follow this road to the meadow outside the Golden Gate, it is more likely that Theophilus followed the outer road, that is, along the outside of the outer wall, and outside the great defensive ditch. See JANIN, CPByz. 266—267 with literature.

(C) 829 ἐν τῷ λιβαδίῳ τοῦ κομβινοστασίου: see on (C) 742 above; and (C) 158 for κομπίνα/κομπινεύω. The κομβινοστάσιον was the point at which the “teams” of pack-animals or processional animals might be assembled. It was also the site at which the chariot racing teams tried out and selected their racing horses, for the programme (κομπίνα) of the races; see VOGT, *Cér. Comm.* II 117; 134. Στάσιον/στασίδιον meant a “post” or “emplacement”, see, for example, De Vel. Bell. 187, 4; 188, 2 (DENNIS, 1, 15. 35); and DAGRON, *Phocas* 246.

(C) 830 ἐν Χρυσοπόλει: mod. Üsküdar (Scutari) on the Asian side of the Bosphorus; its port was Damalis (mod. Kizkule). See JANIN, CPByz. 237; 494—495.

(C) 831—834 ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἑπαρχος . . . Χαλκῆς: see (C) 796 *supra*.

(C) 832—833 δίκηγν νυμφικῶν παστάδων: cf. REISKE, Comm. 590—591. Note the scholion to (C) 740. The decking-out of the City on the one hand, and specific rooms or buildings on the other, described in this fashion, was not unusual: cf. for example, De Cer. 573, 17sq. and 571, 8. The παστοποιοί were responsible for such decorations in the palace itself; cf. Leo Diac. 158, 16—20. The relationship between Constantinople and the Virgin, and the attendant symbolism, will also have been relevant in this context. See the discussion and literature in Averil CAMERON, *The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: a City finds its Symbol*. *JThS* 29 (1978) 79—108.

(C) 833 πολυφῶτων: lamps were hung at specific points all along the processional route; see on (C) 740 and De Cer. 580, 2—3: ἐκρεμάσθησαν ὀλόφωτα; Theotokos Kecharitōmenē Typikon 1592—1593: πολυκάνδηλα τὰ πολύφωτα.

(C) 837—838 χιτῶνα . . . ἐπιλώρικον: the term *chitōn* was used often in the general sense of tunic — whether long or short — to describe other garments such as the *sticharion* (a long robe) or the *divitēsion* (see on [C] 783 above). See EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 61 and n. 2; 64; 72; see also on (C) 749—750 above; and WESSEL, *Insignien* 420ff. Cf. *Klet. Phil.* 127, 20—21.

(C) 838 τὸν ῥοδόβοτρυν: note the scholion to (C) 749 supra, where a fuller description of this garment is given; and note De Cer. 80, 11—12: κολόβιον τριβλάττιον χρυσοσωληνοκέντητον, διὰ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων ἡμφιεσμένον, ὃ καὶ βότρυν καλεῖται . . .; and De Cer. 86, 4. See EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 64, n. 3.

(C) 838 τιάραν: see REISKE, Comm. 591—592, and the scholion: τούφαν. The term is Persian in origin, and here represents a circlet bearing a plume of feathers. See EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 68; GRIERSON, *DOC* II/1, 74—75; III/1, 129—130; and cf. De Cer. 188, 10; WESSEL, *Insignien* 373—397.

(C) 839 χιώματι: see on (C) 757 above.

(C) 840 σκῆπτρον: not the large, *labarum*-like *skēptra* carried as military and imperial standards (see on [C] 734—735 and [C] 489 above) but the older consular sceptre (also referred to as σκηπίωνα, cf. De Cer. 62, 16; 187, 15 and note 639, 9sq.). See DU CANGE

1388—1389; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 66; GRIERSON, *DOC* III/1, 138—141 and table 15. See also OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 330; *Klet. Phil.* 201, 14—15 and n. 220; and WESSEL, *Insigien* 398—410.

(C) 840 ὁ δὲ καῖσαρ: Alexios Mousele, son-in-law of Theophilus. See R. GUILLAND, *Patrices des règnes de Théophile et de Michel III. Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 8 (1970) 593—610, see 596—597 (repr. in: *IDEM*, *Titres et fonctions X*); and ROSSER, *Theophilus the Unlucky* 155—156 and n. 5.

(C) 841 μανικελίων: arm-guards for the fore-arm, also called χειρομάνικα, cf. *Leo Tact.* VI 25; and cf. VI 3; *Syll. Tact.* XXXVIII 5: χειρόψελλα . . . , ἀ δὴ καὶ μανικέλλια λέγονται; cf. *ibid.* XXXIX 2; *Niceph., Praec.* 11, 7—8; and see *De Cer.* 669, 18; 672, 5; 674, 5. For ποδόψελλα see on (C) 753 above.

(C) 842 σὺν περικεφαλαία χρυσῆ: equivalent to *kaisarikion*, see on (C) 752 above; and see EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 67, n. 7; *Theoph.* 444, 4.

(C) 847—848 χρυσοῦν . . . πολυτίμων: see above on (C) 696.

(C) 849 ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ βραχίονος: worn in the same way as the late Roman *armillae*, a tradition adopted from Sassanian practice. See DEÉR, *Byzanz und die Herrschaftszeichen des Abendlandes* (cited at [C] 753 above) 419.

(C) 850 ὡς ἐπὶ ἑορτασίου προκένσου: see on (C) 767 above and on *prokenson*, (B) 107 above. The progresses with which this one is compared are those which took place on days of great festivals — of the Annunciation, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, of the Transfiguration, Christmas, Epiphany and so on — when the demes and members of court and clergy, as well as the population of the City and the *collegia* or *systemata*, addressed the emperor at various stations — στάσεις — or receptions — δοχαί — with a variety of formal acclamations. The demes played a central role on these occasions: note the scholion at (C) 778 above. For a detailed analysis, see GUILLAND, *Topographie* I 217—248; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 90—91; CAMERON, *Circus Factions* 251 ff.; and McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory* 220.

(C) 851—852 τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄγιον Μώκιον: from the Sigma the imperial

cortège turned left in the direction of St. Mōkios before rejoining the main route of the Mesē at the Xērolophos, probably at the Forum of Arcadius. See JANIN, CPByz. 38—39; and for St. Mōkios, *ibid.* 393; and JANIN, *Églises et monastères* 354—358. The route has been commented upon by MANGO, Brazen House 83—84; GUILLAND, *Topographie* II 50; MANGO, Constantinople 47; and see McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory* 146ff.; 209ff.

(C) 852 μέχρι τοῦ Μιλίου: the great tetrapylon arch outside the Augoustaion, between the palace and the Hagia Sophia, and the departurepoint of the main thoroughfare out of the City. See JANIN, CPByz. 103—104; GUILLAND, *Topographie* II 28—31; MANGO, Brazen House 47—48; and for the Augoustaion, JANIN, CPByz. 59—62; 73—77; 155—156; GUILLAND, *Topographie* II 40—54; MANGO, Brazen House 42—47. See on (C) 787—788 *supra*.

(C) 853 διρήγευσαν: see EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 41 and n. 4, who notes that the two verbs διρηγέω and ὀψικεύω are used of those elements of the procession preceding the emperor. Contrast with the liturgical λιτανεύω, see on (C) 781 above.

(C) 853—854 ἕως τοῦ φρέατος τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας: the Holy Well, part of the complex of the Great Church. See GUILLAND, *Topographie* II 19—27; and MANGO, Brazen House 60—72.

(C) 854—855 πλὴν ... ἔφιπποι: those who had participated in the campaign continue on horseback. Cf. De Cer. 610, 8—14.

(C) 855 κονταρίων: cf. Lat. *contus*, see DU CANGE 707 s. v.

(C) 857 ἀπὸ ὀργυιῶν πέντε: there were three different ὀργυιαί in use during the Byzantine period, two of which (of approx. 2,10 m. and 2,16 m.) were official measures (used for field-surveying, for example) and are probably not meant here. The third, used for day-to-day purposes, was of approx. 1,87 m. in length. 5 *orguiiai* would therefore be about 9,30 m. See SCHILBACH, *Metrologie* 22—27.

(C) 858 σπαθοβακλίων: cf. for example, De Cer. 72, 18; 82, 4. 10 etc.; these were ceremonial weapons carried by *prōtospatharioi*, both eunuch and non-eunuch. See REISKE, *Comm.* 174—175; from *spatha*

and *baculum*, these were probably long batons tipped with a two-edged bronze or iron blade. See also VOGT, *Cér. Comm.* I 106.

(C) 859 *πούλιπτον* = *βῆμα*, cf. REISKE, *Comm.* 592; EBERSOLT, *Palais* 34 and n. 7; GUILLAND, *Topographie* I 88.

(C) 859—860 *τὸ χρυσοῦν . . . πρωτόθαυμα*: up to the reign of Michael III the court possessed only one gilded organ; while the demes also possessed two, silvered, organs. But the golden organ was reportedly melted down by Michael III (see *Th. Cont.* 257, 5—6; and *Scylitzes* 97, 49; 132, 36). At some time after this two more golden organs seem to have been constructed for ceremonial functions, referred to in various other contexts either singly or as a pair: see, for example. *De Cer.* 571, 4 (one organ); 580, 5 (two organs) for the year 946 A. D. They were used on a variety of such occasions, and seem to have been portative. See REISKE, *Comm.* 137—138; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 90—91; and WELLESZ, *Music and Hymnography* 94—98. Note Harūn b. Yahya 388 for an early tenth-century description.

(C) 860 *σένζον*: Lat. *sessus*, cf. DU CANGE s. v. *σέσσοσ*, 1356; REISKE, *Comm.* 224—225; EBERSOLT, *Mélanges* 34 and references; also OIKONOMIDÈS, *Préséance* 274, n. 32.

(C) 861 *ὁ χρυσοῦς . . . μέγας*: one of the ceremonial crosses stored in the palace. See *De Cer.* 640, 17, and on (C) 489 above. Cf. also (C) 786—787.

(C) 865 *εἰς ἄγιος*: REISKE, *Comm.* 593, suggests that an alternative reading might be *εἰς ἄγιος*, addressed to the emperor; cf. *De Cer.* 253, 3; 348, 23; 350, 5—6. 8. 12; 351, 23; 366, 19. For the form *εἰς(αι/ε)*, see BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek* 70 and n. 7, for example.

(C) 865—867 *προσήνεγκαν . . . αὐτοῦ*: see on (C) 696 above, and cf. (C) 847—848.

(C) 865 *τὸ πολίτευμα*: usually represented by the factions or demes and their officers. See, for example, CAMERON, *Circus Factions* 264 ff.

(C) 867 *δημηγορήσας*: on imperial orations after victories, see AHRWEILER, *Un discours* 393 and n. 5; 401 ff.

(C) 869—873 διὰ τε τῶν διαβατικῶν ... παλατίῳ: for the *diabatika* (colonnade/cloister) of Achilles, which ran along the Mesē to the left, from the Chalkē, see MANGO, Brazen House 84 and literature. The Zeuxippos baths, originally constructed under Septimius Severus and rebuilt after the Nika riot by Justinian, were the largest and most sumptuous baths of the City, until the later seventh/early eighth century, when a part of them was converted into a prison and barracks, later known as the Noumera: see JANIN, CPByz. 222—224; MANGO, Brazen House 37—42; IDEM, Constantinople 26.

(C) 870—871 τὸν ἀσκέπαστον ἵππόδρομον: this was the great hippodrome of Constantinople: see JANIN, CPByz. 183—194; GUILLAND, Topographie I 371—395 and literature. On the κάθισμα, the imperial lodge in the centre of the east side of the hippodrome, and on the palace of the kathisma behind the lodge, see GUILLAND, Topographie I 462—498; JANIN, CPByz. 188—189; and on the palace of Daphnē, within the great palace, see JANIN, CPByz. 112—113; for the covered hippodrome, see GUILLAND, Topographie I 165—210; JANIN, CPByz. 119—120; 194; and for the Skyla, GUILLAND, Topographie I 151—164; JANIN, CPByz. 108; 116; 119.

(C) 873 αἴτησις δεξιμῶν: cf. De Cer. 631, 19—632, 2; and cf. REISKE, Comm. 593. It was usual for the populace to make a formal request for games to be held (see [C] 877) and for largesses to be distributed on such occasions. For δέξιμων/δοχή, see on (C) 448 above; and see EBERSOLT, Mélanges 89.

(C) 874—877 προετέθησαν ἀντιλήψεις ... ἐδόθησαν: see on (C) 805—807 above. For the issue of the various ἀξίαι, see OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 281ff.; and for the dignities themselves, *ibid.* 292 (table); 293—301.

(C) 875 τῆς κυριωνόμου πατρικιότητος: REISKE, Comm. 593—594; OIKONOMIDÈS, Préséance 294—295; BOAK, The Master 20.

(C) 876 τοῖς πολιτάρχαις: that is, the demarchs and their staffs; see on (C) 758 above.

(C) 880—881 πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου ... φοσσάτον: possibly 837 A. D. See Sym. Mag. 634, 13—22; G. Mon. Cont. 798, 24—799, 4; and on the campaign and triumph, ROSSER, Theophilus the Unlucky 196—201

with literature; McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory* 149f. It is difficult to be sure of the date of this return and triumph. Theophilus was forced to march to Cappadocia shortly after the triumph traditionally ascribed to 831 to oppose al-Ma'mūn's son °Abbās, but was outmanoeuvred; similarly in 832 Theophilus attempted unsuccessfully to relieve Loulon (see VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes* I 110ff.; 117f.). His only success came in 837, when he was able to take Sōzopetra, raid the area around Melitēnē, and destroy Arsamosata (VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes* I 138—141; *TIB* II 78). While this victory was followed, of course, by the expedition of al-Mu°tasīm against Amorion, in which Theophilus was heavily defeated (see *TIB* II 78—79 and literature), it does provide a probable date for the second triumph.

IV.

Introductory note:

In view of the wide range of technical and specialised terms which occur in the three texts edited here, the following index is presented in two sections. Index A lists names and terms in the three texts (A), (B) and (C) only, and *by line number* of the respective text. Words which appear either transliterated or in their Greek form in Index B also are marked thus [○]. Index B lists names and terms which appear in the Introduction, Translation and Notes, and *by page number*. No subject index is included, since the technical terms themselves constitute such, and since the discussion in the Notes is in addition also internally cross-referenced. By looking up a word in the indices, therefore, it is possible to locate all occurrences in the texts, and all items and discussion in the Notes pertaining to the subject or term in question.

A. INDEX OF NAMES AND TERMS IN THE TEXTS (A), (B) AND (C)

◦ ἄβδία	(C) 242. 257
◦ Ἀβραμίται (Θεοτόκος τῶν Ἀ.)	(C) 753. 769
◦ Ἀγαρηνοὶ	(C) 744. 813. 823
◦ ἀγγαρίδια	(C) 559
◦ ἀγελάδια	(C) 147. 535. 596
ἀγέλαι	see λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγγελῶν
◦ Ἁγία Σοφία	(C) 854. 862—863. See also Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία
ἄγιοι	(B) 84
ἄγιοι (μάρτυρες)	(C) 426
◦ ἅγιος Ἀϋξέντιος	(C) 626. 629—630
◦ ἅγιος Μάμας	(C) 640. 826
◦ ἅγιος Μώκιος	(C) 851—852
◦ ἅγιος Σαβῖνος	(C) 318
◦ ἄγουροι (βασιλικοὶ)	(C) 264. 283. 537. 595
Ἁδανῖται	(C) 810
ἀδήμιος	(C) 246
◦ ἀδήμιος	(C) 181
◦ ἀδμισσιονάλιος	(C) 719
◦ ἀερικός (λόγος)	(B) 104
◦ ἀετός	(C) 240. 251. 508
αἰγιαλός	(C) 685
◦ Αἴγιλον (κάστρον)	(C) 622
Αἰγυπτικός	(C) 291. 294
αἰχμαλωταί	(C) 743. 823
ἄκλητος	(C) 284
◦ ἄκρα (θέματα)	(B) 70
◦ ἀκρίται	(C) 565
ἄκρον	(B) 95
ἀλειπτά	(C) 219
◦ ἄληθινός	(B) 109; (C) 124. 221. 231. 238. 256. 291. 294. 301. 491
ἀλλείματα	(C) 209
ἄλογα	(B) 83. 130; (C) 130. 350. 369. 396. 398. 405. 514. 519. 548. 549. 632
ἄλοιφα	(C) 209
◦ ἄμάλια	(C) 124
◦ ἄμπαρ	(C) 220

- ἀμύγδαλον (C) 144
 Ἄναζαρβῆται (C) 811
 ἀνατολή (A) 11; (C) 89
 Ἄνατολικοί (A) 6. 8
 Ὁ Ἄνατολικός (στρατηγός) (C) 87. 648
 ἄνθη (C) 728. 739. 741. 760. 834. 882
 Ὁ ἀνθυπατοπατρίκιοι (C) 499
 ἀντιφάρμακα (C) 207
 ἀξία (C) 875
 Ὁ ἀξινάριν (C) 658
 Ὁ ἀξινόρυγια (C) 130
 Ὁ αἰδήμος (C) 2. 502
 Ὁ αἰκητα (B) 128
 Ὁ ἀπελατικοί (C) 767
 Ὁ ἀπίσιος (C) 656
 Ὁ ἄπληκτον (A) 2. 3; (B) 27. 95. 116; (C) 167. 341. 351. 366. 417. 464. 497. 501
 Ὁ ἀποθέτης (C) 128. 381
 Ὁ ἀποθηκάριος (C) 141—142
 Ὁ ἀποκόμβιν (B) 97
 Ὁ ἀπόκτιν (C) 146
 Ὁ ἀπομονεύς (C) 686. 706. 771
 ἀποστασιάριος (C) 390
 Ὁ Ἀπόστολοι (ἄγιοι) (C) 711. 722
 Ὁ Ἀργέας (βουνός) (C) 620
 ἀργυροκατάκλειστος (C) 217
 Ὁ ἀργυροπρᾶται (C) 715—716
 Ὁ ἀρίθμια (C) 149
 Ὁ ἀριθμός (C) 477. 663. See also βίγλα
 ἄρματα (C) 745. 836
 Ὁ Ἀρμενιάκα (θέματα) (A) 13
 Ὁ Ἀρμενιανά (θέματα) (C) 507
 Ὁ Ἀρμενιάκοι (A) 5; (C) 461
 Ὁ Ἀρμενιάκος (στρατηγός) (A) 12; (C) 87. 648
 ἄρνια (B) 101
 Ὁ ἄρράφια (C) 224. 300. 302
 ἄρτυσία (C) 141
 Ὁ Ἄρτοπούλιον (C) 778
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος (C) 103. 105
 Ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος (C) 426
 ἄρχων (B) 42 (πολιτικοὶ ἄ.). 96. 100. 125; (C) 55. 67. 451. 522. 543. 545
 ἀσήμιον (C) 139. 279
 Ὁ Ἀσία (C) 61. 64. 699
 ἄσκια (C) 129. 143
 Ὁ ἄσκοδάβλαι (C) 192

- ἀσκός (C) 601. 656
 ◦ ἀσπρομόναια (C) 229
 ◦ ἀσπρόχαλκα (C) 212
 ◦ αὐγούστα (C) 815. 819. 824
 Αὐγουστος (C) 707
 αὐτοκράτωρ (C) 54 (μέγας καὶ ὑψηλός αὐ.). 749. 772.
 764—765
 ◦ Ἀχιλλεύς (C) 870

 ◦ Βαάνης (C) 801
 ◦ Βαθὺς Ῥύαξ (A) 14
 ◦ βαμβακερός (C) 204
 ◦ βάνδον (C) 654
 ◦ βάνδον (ensigns) (C) 785
 ◦ βάρβαρος (C) 98
 ◦ Βάρδας (καῖσαρ) (C) 41
 βασίλεια (C) 319. 454. 470
 ◦ Βασίλειος (I) (C) 3. 50. 502. 724
 βασιλεύουσα (C) 814
 βασιλεύς (B) 1. 30. 46. 68. 76. 90. 95. 103. 107. 108.
 111. 123. 124. 126. 143; (C) 1. 2—3. 4. 5.
 6. (μέγας καὶ ὑψηλός β.). 29. 42. 45. 51.
 152. 157. 165. 178. 180. 204. 212. 218.
 265. 276. 281. 284. 312. 332. 351. 353.
 359. 396. 406. 415—416. 425. 427. 432.
 434. 435. 436. 438. 440. 443. 444. 445.
 449. 450. 452. 455. 456. 457. 460. 465.
 466. 480. 485. 497. 501. 502. 512. 516.
 518. 520. 536. 539. 542. 544. 557. 561.
 563. 564. 566. 567—568. 571. 579. 580.
 582. 591. 615. 634. 636. 638. 640. 666.
 667. 672. 678. 680. 681. 700. 708. 718.
 725. 726. 730. 749 (μέγας β.). 774. 800.
 802. 805. 808. 812. 818. 821. 831. 837.
 844. 849. 853. 854. 856. 862. 866. 876. 879

 ◦ βασιλίκια (C) 240. 251. 508
 ◦ βασιλικοί (ἄνθρωποι) (C) 316. 318. 488. 489—490
 ◦ βασιλικοί (ἄρχοντες) (B) 110
 ◦ βδέλλια (C) 241. 252. 504
 βεδούρια (C) 193. 195
 βελλοποιϊκά (C) 197
 ◦ βερζίτικον (C) 147—148
 ◦ βεστιάριον (C) 95. 101. 131. 134. 173. 175. 184. 185.
 186. 207. 278. 374. 575

 ◦ βεστομιλιάρησια (C) 794
 βιβλία (C) 196. 198. 199. 200. 203

- βίγλα (ή βασιλική βίγλα) (C) 421 (see also ἀριθμός, δρουγγάριος τῆς β.)
 βίγλαι (B) 39; (C) 628
 ◦ Βιθυνία (C) 699
 ◦ βίσαλα (C) 182
 ◦ βλαττία (C) 300 (see also διβλαττία, τριβλαττία)
 ◦ Βλαχέρναι (C) 827
 βοηθήματα (C) 209
 βορκάδια (B) 109; (C) 124. 491
 ◦ Βουκελλάρι(ο)ς (στρατηγός) (A) 12; (C) 88. 649
 ◦ βούκινον (C) 345
 ◦ βουλγίδιον (C) 247. 260. 302
 ◦ βοῦλλα (C) 79. 408
 βουλλώ (C) 107
 βούλλωσις (C) 80
 Βοῦς (C) 777
 ◦ βραναῖαι (C) 222
 βραχιόλοι (C) 866
 Βροντολόγιον (C) 201
 βρώσιμα (C) 145. 152
 ◦ βυρσάρια (C) 128. 133
- γανωτός (C) 189. 190. 212. 231. 238. 239. 256. 257
 ◦ γενικόν (λογοθέσιον) (C) 100
 ◦ γενικός (λογοθέτης) (C) 94
 ◦ γομάρια (C) 341. 413
- Δαζιμῶν (A) 5; (C) 461
 ◦ Δάφνη (palatine precinct) (C) 871
 δάφνη (C) 738. 773
 δέησις (C) 496
 δεητικά (C) 495
 ◦ δεκάλιος (C) 290. 293. 510
 ◦ δεκανός (C) 388
 δενδρολίβανον (C) 738
 ◦ δέξιμον (C) 448. 873. 874
 δέσμιος (C) 822. 830. 835. 877
 δέσποινα (C) 711
 ◦ δεσπότης (C) 41. 44. 682. 683. 685. 748. 764. 766
 δεσποτικός (C) 141. 144. 602
 ◦ Δεύτερον (district of Constantinople) (C) 710
 ◦ δήμαρχος (C) 758. 761
 δημηγορῶ (C) 867
 δημόται (C) 759
 ◦ διαβατικά (C) 809
 διάδημα (C) 752
 ◦ διαιτάριοι (C) 628

∘ διάλιθος	(C) 489. 758. 787. 839. 843. 861
∘ διασπρος	(C) 225
διάχρυσος	(C) 215
διβένετος	(C) 226
∘ διβιτήσια	(C) 783
διβλάττια	(C) 173. 213. 235. 236. 240. 242. 251. 258. 504. 508
∘ διέπων	(C) 800. 815. 847
δικίτρινος	(C) 226
δίκτυα	(C) 156
διόγκιος	(C) 309
διρηγεύω	(C) 722. 776. 853
δισάκκια	(C) 247. 260. 302
∘ δισχιστος	(C) 234. 236. 237. 252. 254. 293
∘ διτάγιν	(C) 399
∘ διωγαντάρια	(C) 229
∘ δομέστικοι (προτίκτορες)	(C) 712
∘ δομέστικος (του θέματος)	(C) 448. 505
∘ δομέστικος (τῶν ὀπτιμάτων)	(C) 92. 314. 336
∘ δομέστικος (τῶν Σχολῶν)	(A) 7; (C) 90. 498. 659
∘ δομέστικος (τῆς ὑπουργίας)	(B) 49; (C) 137. 141. 148. 153. 159. 364. 599
∘ Δορύλαιον	(A) 4
∘ δοχαί	(B) 122; (C) 778 (scholion). 797
δρόμων	(C) 686. 827
δρομώνια	(C) 321
∘ δρουγγάριος (τῆς βίγλης)	(B) 120; (C) 309. 421. 430. 433. 434. 436— 437. 442. 474. 559. 560. 563. 567. 570. 573. 588. 589. 662
∘ δρουγγάριος (τοῦ πλοΐμου)	(C) 90
∘ δρουγγαροκόμητες	(C) 447. 654
Δύσις	(C) 89
∘ ἐβδομάριοι	(C) 375. 538
∘ Ἐβδομον	(C) 681. 684. 692. 693. 727. 731
∘ ἐγχείρια	(C) 761
ἔθνη	(C) 327
ἔθνικοί	(C) 224. 249. 276. 292. 378. 406
∘ εἰδικόν (λογοθέσιον)	(B) 104; (C) 116. 140. 286. 538
∘ εἰδικός (λογοθέτης)	(C) 98. 266. 287. 354. 357. 374. 422
Εἰρηνοπολίται	(C) 810
εἰσταγήν	(C) 391
∘ ἐκ προσώπου	(B) 58. 80; (C) 800
∘ ἐκσπηλεύω	(B) 37
ἔλαιον	(C) 144. 145. 151. 208. 601
ἐλεπόλεις	(C) 197

- ἔμβολος (C) 788
 ἔμπλαστρα (C) 209
 ◦ ἔμπρατος (C) 792
 ἐνθάδια (C) 291. 294. 301
 ◦ ἐξακάνθηλα (C) 129
 ◦ Ἐξακιδόνιον (C) 777
 ◦ ἐξάλια (C) 290. 293
 ἔξαρχοι (C) 817
 ◦ ἐξέμπλιον (C) 225. 228. 235
 ◦ ἐξκούβιτα (C) 477
 ◦ ἐξκούβιτος (δομέστικος τῶν ἐ.) (C) 91. 661
 ◦ ἐξκουσσάτος (C) 554
 ἐξοδιάζω (C) 113
 ◦ ἐξοδος (C) 113. 116. 140. 261. 262. 266
 ◦ ἐξπέδιτον (C) 665. 689
 ◦ ἐξωβίγλια (C) 576. 577—578
 ἐορτάσιμος (C) 850
 ἑπαρχος (πραιτωριανός) (C) 715
 ◦ ἑπαρχος (τῆς πόλεως) (see also ὑπαρχος) (C) 676. 700. 705. 709. 715. 737. 771. 796.
 800. 804. 816. 832. 847
 ◦ ἐπείκτης (C) 70. 380. 399
 ◦ ἐπεύχια (C) 170. 205
 ◦ ἐπιλώρικον (C) 750. 838
 ◦ ἐπινίκια (C) 850
 ◦ ἐπιρρίπτάρια (C) 243. 258. 297
 ◦ ἐπιστάτης (C) 428
 ἐπίστρομα (C) 215
 ἐπιγυτάρια (C) 211
 ἐπτάλια (C) 290. 293
 ◦ ἔρημος (C) 281. 512. 529. 539. 556. 561
 ◦ ἐρραμένα (C) 233. 234. 292. 300. 302. 503. 505. 508.
 510
 ◦ ἔσωφορία (C) 226. 227. 228
 ◦ ἑταιρεία (C) 264. 288. 378. 379. 423. 429. 431. 441.
 475. 537
 ◦ ἑταιρειάρχης (C) 423—424. 429
 εὐνοῦχοι (C) 484. 858
 εὐσέβεια (C) 265
 εὐσεβής (C) 708
 ◦ Ζεύξιππος (C) 870
 ◦ ζυγοστάτης (C) 97
 ◦ ζυγοφλάσχιον (C) 142
 ◦ ζωστήσιος (C) 751. 753
 ζωστρίον (C) 244. 295

○ ἡνίττιν	(C) 207
○ Ἡράκλεια	(C) 679. 690
○ θάλασσαί	(C) 241. 257
○ θέματα	(A) 10. 13; (B) 70. 98. 100. 103. 106. 107— 108. 114—115. 118sq. 134. 144; (C) 310. 350. 418. 440. 443. 444. 446. 448. 461. 462. 464. 465. 478. 505. 506. 507. 515. 517. 519. 545. 554. 557. 564. 565. 567. 570. 573. 574. 576. 647. 652
○ θεματικός	(C) 254
○ Θεοδόσιος (φόρος τοῦ Θ.)	(C) 695
○ Θεοδόσιος (ὁ μέγας)	(C) 49
Θεός	(C) 60. 324. 325. 329. 469. 763. 764
Θεοτόκος	(C) 426. 733. 736. 780
○ Θεόφιλος (βασιλεύς)	(C) 43. 640. 808. 812. 881
○ θέσπισμα	(C) 402
○ θηριάκη	(C) 207
○ Θρακῆσις (στρατηγός, see [A] 6)	(C) 87. 648
○ θριαμβευτάλιον	(C) 720
θριαμβευτής	(C) 719
θριαμβεύω	(C) 746. 836. 878
θυμίαμα	(C) 220
○ ιαστός	(C) 229. 230
ιατρικός	(C) 210
Ἰέρεια	(C) 702. 727. 743. 814. 822
Ἰησοῦς	(C) 324
○ ικανάτος (δομέστικος τῶν ἰκ.)	(C) 91. 478. 560. 663
○ Ἰουλιανός	(C) 49
○ Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ	(B) 180—181
○ Ἰουστινιανός	(C) 708. 793
ἱππάρια	(B) 54; (C) 65. 69sq. 111. 125. 127. 363. 383. 384. 386. 392. 394. 407. 490. 581. 583. 605
ἱππεύω	(C) 733
ἱππηλασία	(C) 642. 645
ἱππικά	(C) 877
ἱπποδρόμιον	(C) 641. 645
○ ἱππόδρομος (ἀσκέπαστος)	(C) 871
○ ἱππόδρομος (σκεπαστός)	(C) 872
ἵπποι	(B) 39. 55. 108. 124; (C) 400. 446. 672. 678. 718. 735. 757. 779. 820. 827. 839. 843. 844. 846. 852. 862. 869. 872
○ Ἰσαυροί	(C) 46
○ ἴσκα	(C) 267. 303

καβαλλάριος	(C) 450. 493
καβαλλικεύω	(C) 458. 548
καβαλλοκιλίβια	(C) 118
○Καβόρκιν	(A) 4. 9
○κάγκελλον	(C) 819
○καγκελλωτός	(C) 750
καθεαυτόν	(B) 61. 71. 72
○κάθισμα	(C) 871
○καϊσαρ	(C) 42. 840
○Καισάρεια	(A) 5. 13; (C) 462
○καισαρίβιν	(C) 752
καλιγώ (κεκαλιγωμένα)	(C) 83—84. 106. 632
○καλιγώματα	(C) 400
○καμίνιον	(C) 183
○καμίσια	(C) 759. 762
○καμπάγια	(C) 783
κάναβις	(C) 134
○κανθήλαι	(C) 268. 303. 305. 307
○κανδιδάτοι	(C) 492
○καπιτζάλια	(C) 133
○καπίστρια	(C) 84. 128. 400
○Καπιτώλιον	(C) 712. 716—717. 777
καπνίσματα	(C) 219
○καποῦλα	(C) 179
Καππάδοξ (στρατηγός)	(A) 11; (C) 649
καράβια	(C) 317
κασίδα	(C) 842
καστρομαχία	(C) 198
○κάστρον	(B) 13. 18. 36. 132; (C) 619. 622
κατάβα	(C) 671
○καταβαγείαν	(B) 43
○καταγραφή	(C) 336. 354. 355. 362
κατακοινώω	(C) 404
○Κατάκυλας (Λέων)	(C) 27
○κατασαγμάριον	(C) 315
○κατάστασις	(C) 795. 798
○καταστόλιον	(C) 356. 439
κατωτικός	(C) 222—223
καυκία	(C) 217
○καυκοπινάκια	(C) 156—157
κεδραία	(C) 129
○κελλάριον	(C) 117. 127
○κελλάριος (του σάβλου)	(C) 349. 381. 397
○κελλάριος (οίκειακός βασιλ. κ.)	(C) 138. 153. 160. 365
κέντουκλα	(C) 83
κεντουκλέϊνος	(C) 524

ο κεντηνάρια	(C) 126. 287
κερκετεύω	(C) 421. 429. 573
ο κέρκετον	(C) 310. 420
ο κηρούλιον	(C) 272. 307. 309
ο Κιλικία	(C) 809. 813
ο κιλίκια	(C) 176
κιννάμωμον	(C) 221
κινστέρνη	(C) 181
ο κλεισουράρχης	(C) 253. 499. 507
κλέπτης	(C) 405
κλητορευόμενος	(C) 176. 177. 218
ο κλητόριον	(C) 793
ο κλιβάνιον	(C) 753. 850. 855. 858
ο κοίτων	(C) 185—186. 268. 273. 287
ο κοιτωνίτης	(C) 274. 376. 430. 480. 482
ο κολόβιον	(C) 226. 236
ο Κολώνεια	(A) 4. 10—12; (C) 650
ο κομβινοστάσιον	(C) 829
ο κόμης (του στάβλου)	(B) 53; (C) 69. 77. 106. 115. 117. 312. 333. 336. 338. 354. 360. 362. 379. 397. 411. 552. 581
ο κόμης	(C) 72. 343. 360. 363. 386. 447. 504. 558. 570. 572. 574. 660. 663. 673. 675. 713
ο κομπίνα	(C) 158. 415
ο κομπινεύω	(C) 334. 346. 348. 369
ο κονδριζόμενος	(B) 52; (C) 389. 392. 398
ο κονσιστωριανός	(C) 673
ο κόρτη	(B) 117; (C) 162. 164. 179. 373. 416. 424. 448. 498. 504. 513. 543. 558. 561. 570. 571. 573. 574. 829
ο κορτινάριοι	(C) 537. 572
κόρτις	(B) 96
κοσκινωτός	(C) 271. 272. 303. 304. 306
ο κουβικουλάριος	(C) 486. 722
ο κουβούκλιν	(C) 486. 487. 799. 857
ο κουκουμίλιον	(C) 214. 269
ο κουκούμιον	(C) 182
ο κουρατορεία	(C) 119. 149—150
ο κουρατορίκιον	(C) 97. 145
ο κουράτωρ	(C) 96
κριάρια	(C) 535
κριθάριον	(C) 550
κριθή	(C) 347. 349. 352. 353. 391. 553
κρόκος	(C) 220
κτενιστός	(C) 175
κτημάτινος	(C) 96

- κυαίστωρ (C) 95
 κύπρινοι (C) 149
 κυριώνυμος (C) 875
 ◦κωμοδρόμος (C) 655
 ◦Κωνσταντῖνος (ὁ μέγας) (B) 3; (C) 48
 ◦Κωνσταντῖνος (VII) (C) 1. 204
 ◦Κωνσταντῖνος (ὁ νέος, son of Basil I) (C) 732. 753
 ◦Κωνσταντίος (C) 48—49
 ◦Κωνσταντινούπολις (C) 668. 686. 708
- λάβουρον (C) 785
 ◦λάκκος (C) 270. 304. 305
 λαμπάδες (C) 615
 ◦λαρδίν (C) 146
 λάφυρα (C) 744. 748. 835. 877
 λειτουργία (C) 791
 ◦λεπτόζηλος (C) 227. 228. 250. 253
 ◦Λευκάτη (C) 317
 ◦Λέων (VI) (C) 2. 28
 ◦Λέων (Κατάκυλας) (C) 27
 ◦λιβάδιον (C) 742. 829
 λίβανον (C) 220
 λινοβένετος (C) 175. 524
 ◦λινομαλωτάρια (C) 222
 ◦λιτή (C) 781
 ◦λιτός (C) 237. 243. 253. 258. 506. 509. 510. 735
 λογαριάζω (C) 356
 ◦λογάριον (C) 140. 261
 ◦λογοθέτης (τῶν ἀγγελῶν) (B) 53; (C) 59—60. 76. 82. 109
 ◦λογοθέτης (τοῦ πραιτωρίου) (C) 99
 λόγχη (C) 754. 844
 ◦Λοῦλον (C) 619
 λουτρόν (C) 180. 182
 ◦Λυδία (C) 119
 ◦λωρίκιον (C) 56
 ◦λωρωτόν (C) 229. 290. 293. 301
- μαγαρικόν (C) 194
 μαγειρεῖον (C) 531
 μάγειρος (C) 526. 528. 530. 539
 ◦μαγιστριάνος (C) 715
 ◦μάγιστρος (C) 27. 28. 30. 141. 143. 283. 319. 479. 481.
 498. 591. 592. 720. 800. 804. 815. 847
 ◦μαιουμάς (B) 97. 102. 105; (C) 283. 534. 536. 540.
 592. 597
 ◦Μακεδονία (C) 651

○ Μαλάγινα	(A) 3. 7; (C) 76. 339. 340. 342. 368. 385. 387. 516
μαλός	(C) 175
○ μανδάτον	(B) 63
○ μανδάτορες	(C) 575. 875
○ μανδύλιον	(C) 170. 223
○ μανιακάτος	(C) 234. 236. 237. 254. 293
○ μανικέλλια	(C) 841
○ μαντίον	(C) 671
μαργαρίτης	(C) 750. 751. 754
μάργαρον	(C) 848
μάρτυρες (ἄγιοι)	(C) 426
μαρτύριον	(C) 682. 683
○ μασουρωτός	(C) 242. 258
μάσσημα	(C) 132
μαστίχη	(C) 220
○ Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία	(C) 781
○ μεγαλόζηλος	(C) 226
○ μεράρχης	(C) 447. 504. 509
μέρη	(C) 758. 768. 775. 778 (scholion). 797. 849. 865
○ μερσίνη	(C) 739
○ μεσάλιον	(C) 170
○ μεσάλλαγον	(C) 700—701
○ μεσόζηλος	(C) 227. 235—236. 237
μεταξωτός	(C) 291. 294
μητατινός	(C) 120
○ μητάτον	(C) 61—62. 109
○ μητατώριον	(C) 789
○ μητροπολίτης	(C) 103—104
○ μιλιάρησιον	(C) 245. 262. 282. 283. 288. 540. 541. 544. 546
○ Μίλιον	(C) 787. 788. 852
○ μινσουράκιον	(C) 275
○ μινσουράτωρ	(B) 48; (C) 159. 162. 164. 168. 171—172. 195. 206. 524
○ Μιχαήλ (II)	(C) 44
○ Μιχαήλ (III)	(C) 41. 44. 639
μνήμα	(C) 711
○ μόδιος	(C) 413. 550. 551. 553
○ μοῖρα	(B) 134
○ Μομφουεστῖται	(C) 810
○ μοναστήρια	(C) 110
μονοειδής	(C) 208
μόσχον	(C) 220
○ Μούκιλος	(C) 625

- μούση (C) 30
 μυρίσματα (C) 222
 ◦ μυστικός (B) 110—111
 ◦ μωλάριον (C) 64. 69sq. 94sq. 104sq. 333. 394. 399. 403. 407
- ναός (B) 86; (C) 731. 733. 735. 780
 νάρθηξ (C) 789
 ◦ νεῦρον (C) 148
 ◦ Νήπια (ἐκκλησία τῶν Ν.) (C) 681
 ◦ Νικαῖνός (C) 601
 ◦ νικητικός (C) 762. 767
 ◦ νόμισμα (C) 64—65. 245. 697. 774
 ◦ νοτάριος (C) 355
 ◦ νούμερος (δομέστικος τῶν Ν.) (C) 91
 νυκτέρευμα (C) 273
 νυμφικός (C) 740 (scholion). 832
 ◦ νωτοφύλαξ (B) 136
- ξενάλιον (C) 102. 109. 114. 127. 151. 353. 537. 597. 598
 ◦ ξένια (C) 224. 292
 ◦ Ξηρολόφος (C) 777
 ξύλα (τίμια και ζωοποιά) (C) 487
 ξυλαλόγης (C) 220
 ξυλοκιννάμων (C) 221
 ξυλόσφυρος (C) 658
- οἰκούμενα (B) 8. 64. 128
 οἰνάνθη (C) 191. 192
 ◦ οἰνάριν (C) 141
 ◦ οἶνος (C) 129. 147. 150. 600. 602
 ◦ οἰνοχόος (C) 602
 ὀκτάλιος (C) 290. 293
 ◦ ὀλόβηρος (C) 229
 ◦ ὀλόκανος (C) 215
 ὀλόχρυσος (C) 275. 276
 Ὀλυμπος (C) 623
 ◦ Ὀνειροκρίτης (C) 199
 ὀξέα (ὀξύς) (C) 243. 244. 251. 259
 ὄξος (C) 129
 ◦ ὀπισθοφύλαξ (B) 146; (C) 568
 ◦ ὀπίματος (C) 92. 314. 315. 335. 336. 337. 340. 344. 361. 367. 370. 526. 527
- ὄργανον (C) 860
 ◦ ὄρθομίλιον (C) 275—276

ὄρθοποδῶ	(C) 693. 704
○ ὄρναι	(C) 751
ὄρνεα	(C) 156
ὄρνιθαι	(C) 535
ὄρύζιν	(C) 144
ὄσπρια	(C) 151
○ ὄσφικιάλιος	(C) 93. 284. 499. 592. 594
○ ὄχύρωμα	(B) 58
ὄψάριον	(C) 146. 555
ὄψικεύω	(C) 673. 674. 687
○ Ὀψικιανός (στρατηγός)	(C) 88. 649
○ Ὀψίκιον	(C) 555
παιδεία	(C) 33
○ παλάτιν	(B) 88; (C) 627. 677. 704. 717. 746. 791. 819. 859. 873
πανδέκται	(C) 208
παπᾶς	(C) 389
παραθαλασσίτης	(C) 98
○ παρακοιτωνάριον	(C) 269
○ παραμήριον	(C) 219
○ παραμονή	(B) 120
○ παραμόνιμα	(C) 582
παρασυρτός	(C) 390. 393. 490
παρίππιον	(C) 333. 335. 344. 345. 347. 367. 372sq. 398. 403
παστάς	(C) 740 (scholion). 832—833
○ πατριάρχης	(C) 780. 790
○ πατρίκιος	(C) 141. 143. 283. 320. 479. 481. 482. 484. 592. 593. 677. 721. 801
πατρικιότης	(C) 875
Παφλαγών (στρατηγός)	(A) 12
○ Παφλαγωνία	(C) 650
○ πεδητούρα	(C) 438. 576. 577
πεζεύω	(C) 722. 853. 863
πενταμετραῖος	(C) 143
○ πεντζιμέντα	(C) 303—304
περικεφαλαία	(C) 842
περιχαρακῶ	(B) 149
περσίκια	(C) 252
Περσικός	(C) 699
○ πιλωτός	(C) 173. 175. 213. 524
πιστάκιν	(C) 144
○ πλαγιοφύλαξ	(B) 138; (C) 566
○ πλατυλίσκιον	(C) 130
πλατύλωρος	(C) 242. 257
πλευστικός	(C) 202

- πλοῖον (B) 90; (C) 685. 704. 831
 ◦ ποδόψελλα (C) 753. 841
 ◦ Πολεατικός (C) 701
 ◦ πολιτάρχης (C) 876
 ◦ πολίτευμα (C) 865. 876
 ◦ πολιτικός (B) 42; (C) 383—384
 ◦ Πολυαῖνος (C) 198—199
 ◦ πολυκάνδηλα (C) 740
 ◦ πολύφωτον (C) 833
 πόρτα (Χρυσῆ) (C) 721. 738. 742. 746. 747. 769. 776. 828.
 834. 844. 846
 πόρτα (C) 687. 709. 859
 ◦ πότης (C) 131
 ◦ πούλιτον (C) 859
 πραγματευτής (C) 716
 ◦ πραιπόσιτος (C) 285. 320. 485—486. 498. 782. 798.
 801. 803. 856
 πραισεντάλιος (C) 670
 πραιτώριον (C) 99. 676
 πράσινος (C) 295
 ◦ πριμικήριος (C) 184
 πρόβατον (C) 146. 535
 ◦ Πρόδρομος (ναὸς τοῦ Π.) (C) 731
 ◦ προέλευσις (B) 87. 107; (C) 214. 219. 792. 796
 ◦ πρόκεσνον (C) 821. 850
 ◦ προμοσέλλα (C) 108. 313. 332. 359. 404. 409—410. 584
 ◦ προπόλωμα (C) 755
 ◦ προτίκτωρ (C) 712—713. 719
 ◦ πρωτοβεστιάριος (B) 48; (C) 172. 375. 483
 πρωτόθαιμα (C) 860
 ◦ πρωτονοτάριος (B) 103; (C) 97. 147. 180. 349. 350. 356.
 357—358. 396—397. 446. 515. 518—
 519. 534. 558. 598. 603
 ◦ πρωτοσπαθάριος (C) 484—485. 592. 593. 857
 ◦ πρωτοστράτωρ (C) 580
 πτυάριον (C) 130
 ◦ Πύλαι (C) 312. 313. 315. 316. 319. 625. 634. 636
 πύλη (C) 56. 789. 790. 863
 πύργος (C) 582
 πυρέκβολον (C) 267. 302
 ◦ πυρομάχια (C) 182
 ◦ ρασικός (C) 124
 ◦ ρέτινα (C) 133
 ◦ Ρήγιον (C) 669. 671
 ρογεύω (C) 647. 652

ρόδη	(C) 729. 739. 760. 834
◦ρόδοβοτρυς	(C) 750 (scholion). 838
ρόδοσταγμα	(C) 191. 192
ρούσεος	(C) 671
◦Ρουφινιαναί	(C) 701
Ῥωμαϊκός	(C) 23. 506
Ῥωμαῖοι	(C) 1—2. 7. 29. 204. 618. 765
◦Ῥωμανία	(C) 165. 536. 557. 596. 604. 637
◦Ῥωμανός (II)	(C) 4. 22
◦σάβανον	(C) 222. 298
◦Σάγγαρος	(C) 318
σαγιζώ (σεσαγισμένος)	(C) 583
◦σαγίον	(C) 671. 673. 762
◦σάγισμα	(C) 124. 401. 491. 551
◦σαγμάριον	(B) 50. 51. 54; (C) 82. 138. 158. 162. 187. 190. 280. 286. 334. 335. 339. 340. 342. 347. 365. 369—370. 372sq. 412. 527. 528. 533. 549. 552. 633
◦σάγμα	(C) 123
◦σαγματοπασμαγάδιον	(C) 119—120. 121. 122
σαγματώ (σεσαγματωμένος)	(C) 82. 104. 105
◦σακελλάριος	(B) 48; (C) 94. 266. 801
◦σακέλλιον	(C) 95. 100
◦σακκίον	(C) 263. 287. 288
◦Σάμος (βουός)	(C) 621
◦σαράκοντα	(C) 376. 384
◦Σαρακηνοί	(C) 618. 637. 644
◦Σάτυρ	(C) 701
σαφραμένα	(C) 71
◦σαφραμεντάριος	(C) 343. 386. 632
◦σάχαρ	(C) 220
◦Σεβαστεία (στρατηγος τῆς Σ.)	(A) 13
Σεισμολόγιον	(C) 202
σέκρετον	(C) 99. 100. 357
◦Σελευκεία (στρατηγος τῆς Σ.)	(C) 89
◦σελιναῖα	(C) 84. 132
◦σελλάριον	(B) 110; (C) 126. 347. 384. 394. 399. 517. 538. 551. 606. 635
◦σελλίον	(C) 214
◦σενδές	(C) 222. 740. 833
◦σένζον	(C) 860. 864. 869
◦Σηλύμβρια	(C) 690
σημεντέϊνος	(C) 759
◦Σίγμα	(C) 776. 851
◦σίγνον	(C) 425. 428. 432. 433. 436. 785

- ◌σιγνοφόρος (C) 489
 ◌Σιγριανῆ (C) 26
 σίδηρος (C) 131
 ◌σιλεντιάριος (C) 675. 799
 ◌σινδόνιον (C) 222
 ◌σιτλολέκανον (C) 211
 σκάλα (C) 705
 σκαμνίον (C) 168. 169. 178
 ◌σκαραμάγγιον (C) 225. 234. 732. 739. 749. 833
 σκεπάριν (C) 658
 σκευάριον (C) 188. 230. 238. 255. 300
 σκευαστός (C) 207
 ◌σκεύη (C) 785
 ◌σκήπτρον (C) 786. 840
 Σκοπός (C) 626
 ◌σκορτζίδιον (C) 143
 ◌σκουτάριον (C) 56. 430. 493
 ◌σκουτέλλιον (C) 275
 ◌σκριβων (C) 661
 ◌Σκυθικός (C) 181
 ◌Σκῦλα (C) 873
 σμιλάριν (C) 658
 ◌Σολομῶν (C) 18
 ◌σπαθάριος (C) 492
 ◌σπαθιον (C) 56. 218. 751. 753. 838. 842. 855
 ◌σπαθοβακχίον (C) 858
 σπίλωμα (C) 78
 σταβλίζω (ἔσταβλισμένος) (C) 521
 ◌σταβλοκόμης (C) 383. 517. 585
 στάβλος (see also κόμης τοῦ σ.) (B) 53; (C) 67. 68. 106. 107. 115—117. 128.
 313. 333. 339. 348. 354. 362. 379. 381.
 397. 411. 516. 552. 581. 632
 ◌σταυρός (C) 489. 786. 861
 στέμμα (C) 788
 στεφάνιον (C) 759. 760. 883
 στέφανος (C) 696. 698. 704. 706. 710. 728. 756. 772.
 775. 847
 στρατηγικός (C) 767. 782
 ◌Στρατήγιον (C) 702. 703
 ◌στρατηγός (τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν) (A) 6. 8
 ◌στρατηγός (τῶν Θρακησίων) (A) 6
 ◌στρατηγός (Σελευκείας) (A) 8
 ◌στρατηγός (B) 35. 121; (C) 86. 88. 252. 446. 451. 457
 στρατιώτης (B) 43. 97; (C) 59. 450. 499. 502. 507. 653.
 468
 ◌στρατιωτικόν (λογothέσιον) (C) 387

○ στρατηλάται (μάρτυρες)	(C) 426—427
στρατοπεδεύω	(C) 809. 813
○ στρατοῦρα	(C) 83. 118. 123
○ στρατών	(B) 110; (C) 580
○ συγκλητικός	(C) 680. 684. 694. 703. 709. 824
○ σύγκλητος	(C) 729. 734. 794. 796. 816. 817. 821. 826. 852
○ σύμπονος	(C) 99
Συναντηματικός	(C) 199
○ συνήθεια	(C) 67
συνοψίζω (συνοψισθῆναι)	(B) 92
○ σύντροφος	(C) 339. 340. 343. 345. 367. 384. 517. 528. 530. 538
○ συνωνή	(B) 104
○ Συρία	(C) 157. 178. 391. 512. 516. 518. 520. 542. 591. 600. 605
○ Συριανός	(C) 199
συστελτός	(C) 168. 169—170
○ σύστημα	(B) 61; (C) 716
○ σφακτόν	(B) 101; (C) 146. 593. 594. 596
○ σφιγκτούριον	(C) 241. 257. 295
○ σχολαί	(A) 7; (C) 90. 477. 498. 659. 660. 713
○ σχολάριοι	(C) 263. 289. 422. 440. 541
σωκάρια	(C) 83. 135
σωμασκάω	(C) 519
Σωτήρ	(C) 425
ταγή	(C) 349. 350. 396. 400. 550
ταγίζω	(C) 398
○ τάγιστρον	(C) 127
○ τάγματα	(B) 60. 82. 95. 107. 112. 113. 114; (C) 460. 464. 465. 476. 545. 817
ταξειδεύειν	(B) 1—2. 3. 4. 21. 22. 24. 31—32
○ ταξειδίδιον	(A) 1. 9; (B) 20. 29. 34. 44. 46. 98; (C) 40. 409. 612. 614
Ταρσίται	(C) 810
○ Ταρσός	(A) 9; (C) 618
○ Ταῦρος	(C) 696. 778
τείχη	(B) 62; (C) 828
○ τειχιώτης	(C) 91
○ Τέμβρης	(C) 555
τέντα	(C) 165. 179. 416. 513. 742. 745
○ Τεφρική	(A) 14; (C) 725. 726
τζαγγάριν	(C) 655
○ τζεργά	(C) 181
○ τιάρα	(C) 838

- τομάρια (C) 189. 231. 238. 256. 311
- ο τοποτηρητής (C) 660
- ο τουβλίον (C) 229. 297
- ο τοῦλδον (C) 513. 523. 532. 548
- ο Τουρκικός (C) 181
- ο τουρμάρχαι (C) 254. 447. 503. 509. 578. 653
- ο τοῦφα (C) 838 (scholion)
- τραπέζη (βασιλική) (see also ὑπουργία) (C) 137. 139. 148. 152. 155. 159. 170. 364. 377. 483. 500. 525. 532. 534. 554. 599
- ο τριβλάτιον (C) 251. 503. 732. 783
- ο τριβοῦνος (C) 669. 673. 713
- ο τρίκλινος (C) 793
- τριμετραῖος (C) 142. 182
- ο τρίμιτος (C) 229
- ο τριτάγιν (C) 398
- ο Τρύχιναι (C) 119
- τυρίν (C) 146
- ὑπαρχος (see also ἑπαρχος) (B) 60. 89; (C) 95
- ο ὑπατικός (C) 676
- ὑπεραγία (C) 733. 780
- ὑπηρεσία (C) 85
- ὑπόδημα (C) 246. 298
- ο ὑπόθεσις (A) 1
- ο ὑποκαμισοβράχια (C) 243. 259. 296
- ο ὑπόμνημα (C) 26
- ο ὑπόμνησις (A) 1; (C) 24. 39
- ο ὑπουργία (C) 136. 137. 138—139. 140. 149. 150. 153. 160. 161. 166. 279. 280. 361. 364. 372. 599
- ο ὑπουργός (C) 367
- ο φαβρικήσιος (C) 715
- ο φακῆν (C) 144
- ο φακιόλιν (C) 755
- ο φανάριον (C) 272. 303. 308
- ο φανός (C) 614. 620. 631. 639. 643. 646
- φασοῦλιν (C) 144
- ο φατλίον (C) 307. 309. 422. 575
- ο Φιλαδέλφιον (C) 777—778
- φιλοτιμία (B) 102
- φιλόχριστος (C) 41. 44. 725
- ο φῖνα (C) 263. 281. 289. 423. 428. 441. 541. 542. 606
- ο φλάμουλον (C) 735. 744. 786
- φόρος (C) 290. 292. 511

○Φόρος (Θεοδοσίου)	(C) 695
○Φόρος (Κωνσταντίνου)	(C) 778. 779. 784
φοσσατεύω	(C) 7. 54. 463
○φοσσάτον	(B) 135. 140. 142; (C) 57. 81. 86. 115. 120. 261. 395. 637. 724. 803. 805. 808. 881
φουνδάτος	(C) 205
○φούντατος	(C) 171
φούρνος	(C) 155
φρέαρ	(C) 853. 862
○Φρυγία	(C) 61. 64
○φύλαρχος	(C) 675. 676
φωνή (ἐπινίκιος)	(C) 797
○χαλίνζια	(C) 217
○Χαλκῆ (του παλατίου)	(C) 55. 717. 718. 738. 746. 834. 858. 864
○χαμαιτρίκλινος	(C) 820
○χαμόκουμβος	(C) 171. 174. 176. 205. 214. 525
○Χαλδία	(C) 651
○χάραγμα	(C) 287. 774
○Χαρισίου (πέρτα τῶν Χ.)	(C) 709
○χαριστική	(C) 402—403. 408
Χαρσιανίτης (στρατηγός)	(A) 11—12; (C) 650
○Χαρσιανόν	(C) 462
○χαρταλάμια	(C) 189. 231. 239. 256
χαρτίον	(C) 311. 388
○χαρτουλάριος	(C) 70. 71. 334. 338. 342. 348. 356. 362. 368. 385. 448. 504—505
○χαρτουλάριος (ὁ ἔσω χ. του στάβλου)	(C) 77. 107. 115. 117. 380. 397. 411
○χαρτουλάριος (τῶν ἔξω στάβλων)	(C) 631—632
χηνάρια	(C) 535
χίωμα	(C) 757. 839. 843
○χιτῶν	(C) 750 (scholion). 837
χλάμυς	(C) 783
χλανίδιον	(C) 714. 763
Χριστός	(C) 1. 204. 325. 468
χρυσοκλίβανος	(C) 857
Χρυσόπολις	(C) 830
χρυσούφαντος	(C) 750. 756. 783. 837
χωλεύω (χωλεύομενος)	(B) 52
○ψευδοξύς	(C) 244. 245
ψύα	(C) 78
ψυχριστάριον	(C) 190. 194
Ψωραία (Πύλη)	(C) 789
○ὠρολόγιον	(C) 272. 788

B. INDEX OF NAMES AND TERMS IN THE INTRODUCTION,
TRANSLATION AND NOTES

A

'abayeh	72. 223
'Abbās (son of al-Ma'mūn)	286. 293
<i>abdia</i> (ἀβδία)	71. 223
Abramites (church of the all-holy Virgin of the A.)	141. 143. 270
Achilles, baths	151. 292
Adana	147. 285
Adata	286
address, imperial	see harangues
<i>adēmios/adēminos</i> (ἀδήμινος)	71. 208. 224
'adīm	72
<i>admissionalios</i>	141. 267. 268
<i>adnoumion</i>	257
<i>aerikon</i>	49. 89. 167
ἀετός	221—222
Agapētos	179
<i>ageladion</i>	71
<i>aggaridia/aggareion</i>	252
<i>agentes in rebus</i>	266
Agros (Megas Agros)	see Sigrianē
Aigaion Pelagos	191
Aigilon	133. 255
<i>akra themata</i>	48. 72. 163
<i>akritai</i>	163
<i>aleimmata</i> (ἀλείμματα)	74
Aleppo	274
Alexander (son of Basil I)	269
Alexios Mousele	289
<i>alēthinos</i> (ἀληθινός)	169. 197. 230
'Ali (Saif ad-Daulah)	67
<i>allaxima</i> (ἀλλάξιμα; see also μεσάλλαγον)	221. 280
al-Ma'mūn	286. 293
al-Mu'tasīm	293
aloes	214
<i>alourgis</i> (ἀλουργίς)	169
<i>amalīa</i>	197
Amida	274

Amorion	62. 293
<i>ampar</i> (ἄμπαρ)	214
Anabarza	147. 285
<i>anabibasmoi</i>	285
Anatolia	62. 67
Anatolikon	62—64. 135. 171
<i>anthypatopatrikios</i>	247
<i>anthypatos</i>	127
<i>annona</i>	168. 256
<i>antitēpseis</i> (ἀντιτήψεις)	285. 292
<i>axinarin</i>	71
<i>axinorygion</i>	71. 199
<i>acidēmos</i> (ἀοιδήμος)	73
<i>oikēta</i> (οἰκήτα)	174
<i>apaitēsis</i>	194
<i>apelatikoi</i>	281
<i>apisia</i> (ἀπίσια)	259
ἀπληχεύειν	155
<i>aplēkton</i> (ἄπληκτον)	35. 40. 62—67. 69. 81. 89. 91 117. 119. 127. 155. 233. 248
<i>apothetēs</i> (of the imperial stable)	161. 196. 200
<i>apothēkarios</i>	200
<i>apokombin</i>	166
<i>apoktin</i> (ἀπόκτιν)	202
ἀπομονεύς	262. 281
Apostles, church of the	139
Arabic	70. 71
Arabs	67
Arcadius, column of	272
Archbishoprics	193—194
Archibishops	101
<i>Archistratēgos</i>	240—241
<i>archontes</i>	89. 165
<i>archontes</i> (of the demes)	280
<i>archontes</i> (<i>tu blattiou</i>)	207
<i>argyropatai</i>	266—267
<i>arithmia</i> (ἀριθμία)	103. 203
<i>Arithmos</i> (see also <i>Vigla</i>)	125. 137. 171. 252
<i>Armeniakoī</i>	81. 125
Armeniakon	156. 157. 171. 148. 251. 257
Armenian (themata)	64, n. 58. 81. 135. 157. 251. 256. 258
<i>arrhaphia</i> (ἀρράφια)	216
Arsacids	177
Arsamosata	293
Artavasdos	155

Artemidoros	211
Artopoulion	145. 282
<i>asēkrētēs</i>	52, n. 35
Asia	97. 99. 139. 161
Asia Minor	66. 67
ἀσκοδάβλαι	210
ἀσπρομύναια	219
ἀσπρόχαλκα	213
Attic/Atticising	70
Augousta	147. 286
Augousteion	267. 290

B

Baanēs (<i>ek prosōrou</i>)	145. 281
Balkans	67
<i>bambakeros</i>	230
<i>bandon</i> (military unit)	72. 135. 173. 250. 257—258
<i>bandon</i> (standard/ensign)	145. 272—273
<i>bandophoroi</i>	273
Baptist, church of the	141. 270
<i>barbaros</i>	101. 192
Bardas (Phocas)	67
Bardas (Caesar)	97. 182—183
Basil (I)	45. 54—58. 66. 95. 127. 141. 177. 179. 190—191. 245. 248. 255. 269. 270. 275. 276.
Basil (<i>parakoimōmenos</i>)	37, n. 8. 43. n. 19. 66. 74. 276
Basileus	see titles, imperial
<i>basilikia</i>	221—222
<i>basilikoi</i> (<i>agouroi</i>)	226
<i>basilikoi</i> (<i>anthrōpoi</i>)	168. 169. 232. 245
<i>basilikoi</i> (<i>archontes</i>)	169
<i>basilikoi</i> (<i>eunouchoi</i>)	244
<i>bdellia</i> (βδέλλια)	222
Bathys Rya.x	64, n. 58. 81. 157. 268—269
beacons	56. 58. 59. 61
βεδούριον	72
βερζιτικον	72. 203
βεστιάριον	see <i>vestiarion</i>
βεστομλιαρήσια	284
βῆλα	271. 275
βίγλα	see <i>Vigla</i>
<i>Biktōres</i>	250. 257
βίσαλα	208
Bithynia	59. 64. 139. 254

Blachernai	147. 265. 286. 287
<i>blatta</i> (βλαττίον)	73. 205—207. 217—219. 221. 230. 231
books (strategical, historical etc.)	210—212
Boukellarion	135. 156. 171
<i>boukinon</i>	236
<i>boulgidion</i>	224
βουῖλλα	188
<i>brakia</i>	224
βραναῖαι	215
brocades	89. 197
Bulgaria	67
Bulgarophygon	181
Bulgars	66. 67
βυρσάρια	198
Buwayhids	276

C, Ch, (χ)

Caesar (Julius) (see also Kaisar)	40. 42. 45
<i>caliga/caligatus</i>	189. 197
<i>capistrum</i>	190. 197. 239
Capitol	see Kapitōlion
<i>capitus</i>	256
ceremony	see <i>katastasis</i>
Chaldia	135. 157. 191
χαλινζία	213
Chalkē (of the palace)	97. 141. 143. 149. 151. 183. 267
Chalki (Ms.)	51
<i>chamaitriklīnon</i>	73. 286
<i>chamokoumba</i> (χαμόκουμβα)	205
<i>charagma</i>	229
<i>charistikē</i>	239
χαρταλάμια	209
Charisios (gate)	139. 265. 266
Charsianon	125. 135. 156. 171. 190. 248. 256. 285
<i>chartouarios</i> (of the demes)	280
<i>chartouarios</i> (of Malagina)	117. 119. 161
<i>chartouarios</i> (of the <i>sakellion</i>)	191
<i>chartouarios</i> (of the stable)	99. 101. 117. 119. 121. 161. 235. 250
<i>chartouarios</i> (of <i>themata</i>)	123. 127. 166. 236. 249. 257
<i>chartouarios</i> (of the <i>vestiarion</i>)	191
Chazars	164

<i>cheiromanika</i>	289
Cherson	191
χηάρια	251
<i>chiliarchēs</i>	249
<i>chiliarchia</i>	249
<i>chitōn</i>	288
χιώματα	279. 288
Christ-loving	97. 141. 176. 181
Chronicle of the Logothete	59
Chrysocheir	268
Chrysopolis	147. 287
Cilicia	285
<i>coccus ilicus (c. tinctorius)</i>	see <i>blatta</i>
<i>coemptio</i>	168
<i>cohors/cors</i>	163
<i>comes dispositionum</i>	267
<i>comes rei privatae</i>	260
<i>comes sacrarum largitionum</i>	196
<i>comes stabuli</i>	186
<i>comites consistoriani</i>	260. 261
<i>comitiva sacrarum largitionum</i>	191—192
compounds (copulative)	71
compounds (determinative)	71
compounds (dvandva)	71
<i>consistorium</i>	260
Constantine (I)	42. 45. 83. 97. 157. 164. 183. 245—246. 282
Constantine (V)	42. 64, n. 56. 183. 276
Constantine (VI)	42. 183
Constantine (VII)	35. 38. 41. 43. 45—46. 50— 61. 63. 64. 66—70. 75. 95. 107. 176sq. 190sq. 245—246. 264
Constantine (son of Basil I)	143. 269. 270
Constantine (Doukas)	181
Constantinople (The City)	37. 45—46. 66. 67, n. 63. 87. 89. 99. 115. 135. 137—151. 169—170. 233. 242. 245. 255. 259. 262—263. 274sq. 279. 282. 284sq. 288sq.
Constantius	42. 97. 183
<i>Corpus perditum</i>	47
Cretan dialects	173
Crete	250
Cross (True/Holy)	245—247

D

Damalis	287
Daphnē (palace of)	151
Daphnē (church of St. Stephen of)	272
Dazimōn	81. 125. 155
David (King of Israel)	178—179
<i>De administrando imperio</i>	43. 53. 60. 70
<i>De caerimoniis</i>	35. 36. 37, n. 8. 43. 44. 70
<i>decuriones</i>	260
<i>dekalia</i>	229—230. 251
<i>dekapōlon</i> (dōdekapōlon)	218. 229—230
<i>dekanos</i>	119. 170. 238
demarchs (δήμαρχοι)	143. 279
deme officials	280. 292
demes (see also πολιτεῦμα)	143. 242. 275. 279. 280. 289
<i>De re militari</i>	70
desert/deserted lands	174
Despot	97. 182
<i>De thematibus</i>	60. 61, n. 51
<i>deutereuontes</i>	280
Δεύτερον	265
<i>De velitatione bellica</i>	59. 70
<i>deximon</i> (see also reception)	173. 242. 292
<i>diabatika</i>	292
<i>diatarioi</i>	135
<i>dialithos</i>	72
διαπαντός	71
<i>diaspra</i>	217
διαστῆγων	71, n. 68
<i>diatypōsis</i>	193
διαχειρῶν	71
διβλαττάρια	73
διβλάττια	see <i>blatta</i>
διέπων (see also <i>ek prosōpou</i>)	286
<i>dioikētai</i>	184
<i>dischista</i> (δισχιστα)	220. 229
διτάγιν	239
διυγαντάρια	73. 219
<i>divitēsia</i>	145. 283. 288
<i>domestikoi protiktōres</i>	139
<i>domestikos</i> (of the <i>Exkoubitōi</i>)	99. 137. 190. 244
<i>domestikos</i> (of the <i>Hikanatōi</i>)	99. 129. 137. 190. 244. 252
<i>domestikos</i> (of the <i>hypourgia</i>)	40. 85. 103. 105. 117. 133. 160. 169
<i>domestikos</i> (of the <i>Optimatōi</i>)	99. 115. 117. 190. 232. 235. 237

<i>domestikos</i> (of the <i>Noumera</i>)	99. 190
<i>domestikos</i> (of the <i>Scholai</i>)	59. 62—64. 67. 81. 99. 127. 137. 156. 164. 181
<i>domestikos</i> (of a <i>thema</i>)	123. 127. 166. 242. 249—250. 257
Dorylaion	73. 81. 155. 252. 255
<i>doukatores</i>	171
<i>doux</i>	249
<i>drakontia</i>	272—273
<i>Dromos</i>	192
<i>dromōnia</i>	234
<i>drouggarios</i>	180—181. 249. 256—258
<i>drouggarios</i> (of the fleet)	99. 190. 245
<i>drouggarios</i> (of the <i>Vigla</i>)	40. 49. 64, n. 59. 91. 115. 121. 123. 125. 129. 131. 137. 172. 173. 232. 240. 241. 244. 252
<i>drouggarokomētes</i>	74. 123. 135. 166. 256—258
<i>drouggos</i>	174. 249
Dyrrhachion	191

E

Egyptian	113. 230
ἐγγείρια	280
<i>eidikos</i> (<i>idikos</i>)	41. 49. 60. 89. 101. 103. 111. 113. 119. 121. 129. 167. 168. 192. 229. 236
Eirēnē	164
Eirēnoupolis	147. 285
ἐκβαλῶτες (ἐκβαλόντες)	72
<i>ek prosōrou</i>	41. 67, n. 63. 162. 285. 286
ἐκσπηλεύω	158
<i>empratos</i>	284
Eparch (of Constantinople)	87. 89. 139. 141. 143. 145. 147. 149. 191. 261. 266. 274. 284. 287
<i>epeiktēs</i>	99. 119. 121. 239
ἐπεύχια	204
<i>epilōrikion</i>	277
<i>epilōrikon</i>	277. 288
<i>epimanikia</i>	221
<i>epinikia</i>	281
ἐπιῤῥιπτάρια	224
<i>episkepsēis</i>	184
<i>episkeptitai</i>	184
<i>epistatai</i>	241

<i>epi tēs katastaseōs</i>	229. 261. 267. 274. 284
<i>epi tēs trapezēs</i>	172. 200. 244. 252
<i>epi tōn deēseōn</i>	247
ἔρημος/ἔρημια	174
ἐβραμένα	216. 220
<i>esōphoria</i>	219
<i>eusebeia</i>	227
εὐτυχία/πτυχία	272
<i>eutychophoroi</i>	273
Ἐxakionion	145. 282
<i>exemplion</i>	217
<i>Exkoubiton</i> / <i>Exkoubitos</i>	73. 125. 137. 164. 171. 190. 245. 252. 273
<i>exkoussatoi</i>	252
ἔξοδος	195
<i>expediton</i>	71. 259
<i>exōviglia</i> / <i>ἔξωβίγλια</i>	253

F (ph, φ)

<i>fabricenses</i> / <i>φαβρικῆσιοι</i>	139. 266
φακῆν	202
φακιόλι(ο)ν	71. 278
<i>phaktionarioi</i>	280
<i>phanaria</i>	71. 228. 231
<i>phanoi</i>	255
Pharganoi	164
Pharos (of the palace)	135
Phasianē	181
fatīl	72. 231
φατλίον	72. 231. 240
Philadelphion	145. 282
Philotheos	51
φῖνα	226. 228. 229. 240. 253
φλάμουλα	270—274
food (diet)	201sqq.
Forum of Arcadius	282. 290
Forum of the Bull	see Forum of Theodosius
Forum (of Constantine/the Forum)	145. 265. 266. 282. 283
Forum of the Ox	145. 282
Forum of Stratēgios	139. 290
Forum of Theodosius	139. 145. 163. 181
φοσσάτον	71. 175. 285. 292
Photios	180
φούντατα	204—205
Phrygia	99. 161

phylarch	137
<i>phylax</i>	167

G

<i>geitoniarchai</i>	280
<i>genikos/-on</i>	101. 191. 193
George of Pisidia	179
Georgius Monachus Continuatus	58
Germanikeia	141. 269
Golden Gate	141. 143. 147. 149. 262. 265. 267. 268. 270. 276sq. 282. 287
Golden Horn	287
γομάρια	235
Great Church (Hagia Sophia)	145. 151. 265. 283. 290
Greek (phonetic change, orthography, syntactical confusion etc.)	71—74

H (including aspirates ἁ, ἑ, ἱ, ἔ, ὅ, ὕ, ὶ)

Ἁγία Σοφία/Hagia Sophia	see Great Church
Hagarenes (and Ἁγαρηνοί)	141. 147. 286
Hamdanid	67
harangues, imperial	242. 243—244
ἄρμοφύλακες	253
Harūniyah	286
ἑβδομάριοι/ <i>hebdomarioi</i>	119. 129. 167. 170. 237
Hebdomon	67, n. 63. 137. 139. 141. 262. 270
Hellas	191
<i>hēniochoi</i>	280
Heraclius	242. 269. 287
Herakleia	137. 139. 262. 263
ἑταιρεία/ <i>Hetaireia</i> (imperial)	111. 113. 119. 121. 123. 125. 129. 133. 164. 226. 271. 273
<i>hetaireia</i> (thematic)	173
<i>hetaireiarchēs</i> /ἑταιρειάρχης	121. 123. 226
<i>hexakanthēla</i> /ἑξακάνθηλα	198
<i>hexalia</i> /ἑξάλια	229—230
Hiereia	73. 139. 141. 147. 264. 269
<i>Hikanatoi</i>	125. 164. 171. 273
hippodrome (open)	151. 242. 276. 287. 292
hippodrome (covered)	151
ἵσα	227
ὀλόβηρα	169
ὀλόκανα	213

Holy Apostles, Church of the	141. 265
Holy Well	151. 290
Holy Wisdom, Church of the	see Great Church
ὁρίζω	162
<i>Hōrologion</i> /ὥρολόγιον	145. 228. 283
horses (pack-, parade- and riding-)	see pack-animals
horses (medical treatment)	198—199
<i>hyratikoi</i>	261
ὑποκαμισοβράκια	223
<i>hypomnēsis</i> /ὑπόμνησις	155
<i>hypothesis</i> /ὑπόθεσις	155
<i>hypourgia</i>	172. 225
<i>hypourgoi</i>	172—173
<i>hypourgikon</i>	172
<i>hyprostratēgos</i> /ὑποστράτηγος	249

I

ἰαστά	169. 219
Illyricum	256
Innocents, Church of the (ἐκκλησία τῶν Νηπίων)	137. 262
Iranian	70. 71
Isaac (II)	246
Isaurian (emperors)	42. 45. 46. 97

J

Jacobites (Armenian and Syrian)	157
John of Cappadocia	167
John (II) Tzimiskēs	67. 246
Julian (the Apostate)	42. 97. 183
Julius Caesar	40. 42. 45. 87. 164
Justinian (I)	57. 139. 167. 233. 266. 292
Justinian (II)	233

K

Kaborkin	62. 64. 81. 155
<i>kagkellarios</i>	235
<i>kagkellon</i>	286
καγιελλωτός	277
Kaisar	97. 143. 149. 182. 289
Kaisareia	81. 125. 155. 243. 255
<i>kaisarikion</i>	278. 289
Kalgrou (gate)	276
<i>kaligōmata</i>	see <i>caliga</i>

<i>kaminion</i>	208
<i>kamisia</i>	280
<i>kampagia</i>	283
καμπιδηκτούρια	272—273
<i>kandēla</i>	227
<i>kandidatoi</i>	125. 127. 247. 273
<i>kapistria</i>	see <i>capistrum</i>
Καπιτώλιον	139. 141. 145. 265. 282
<i>kapitzalia</i>	200
<i>kapnikon</i>	168
<i>kapoula</i>	188
Καππαδοκία	81. 135. 156. 171. 190. 255. 286
Καριανού (palace of)	280
<i>kastorion</i>	169
<i>kastra</i>	157
<i>kastrēsios</i>	172
κατάβα (κατάβασις)	260
καταβαγείαν	71. 159
καταγραφή	237
Κατακύλας (Katakoilas/Katakaliōn)	see Leo (Katakylas)
καταμίαν	71, n. 68
<i>katasagmarion</i> /κατασαγμαρίον	71
<i>katastasis</i> /κατάστασις	174
καταστόλιον	237
<i>kathisma</i>	151. 292
<i>katepanō</i>	173
<i>katō triklinos</i>	286
καυκοπινάκιον	71. 203
κεχαλιγωμένα	194
<i>kellarios</i> -on	71. 117. 121. 196. 200. 236
<i>kēnarios</i>	172
<i>kentarchoi</i>	173. 258
<i>kenēnaria</i>	73. 111. 113. 226
Κεφάλληνια	191
<i>kerketon</i>	232. 240
<i>kēroulia</i>	231—232
Κιβυρρηαιῶται	191
κίλικια	208
<i>kleisoura</i>	62. 156. 258
<i>kleisourarchai</i>	111. 127. 248
<i>klētorion</i> /κλητόριον/κλητορεύω	207. 284
Κλήτορολογιον (of Philotheos)	36, n. 6
<i>klibanion</i>	71. 143. 149. 278—279
Κνωσός	249
<i>kōdikes</i>	238

<i>koinē</i>	70
<i>koiṓn</i>	113. 227. 229
<i>koiṓnitai</i>	119. 123. 125. 167. 227
<i>kolobion</i>	217
Κολῶνεια	73. 81. 135. 155. 157. 171. 190
κομβινοστάσιον	287
<i>komēs</i>	see also under <i>comes</i>
<i>komēs</i> (of the thematic <i>hetaireia</i>)	173
<i>komēs</i> (of the <i>Optimatoi</i>)	117. 237
<i>komēs</i> (of the stable)	40. 85. 99. 101. 115. 117. 119. 121. 129. 131. 161. 169. 187. 236. 253
<i>komēs</i> (of the tent, imperial)	172
<i>komēs</i> (of the tent, thematic)	123. 127. 129. 131. 166. 171— 172. 249. 257
<i>komites</i> (of the <i>Arithmos/Vigla</i>)	137. 139
<i>komites</i> (of the consistory)	137
<i>komites</i> (of the <i>Hikanatoi</i>)	137. 139
<i>komites</i> (of the provincial stables)	99. 117. 161
<i>komites</i> (of the <i>Scholai</i>)	137. 139
<i>komites</i> (thematic)	256—258
κομπίνα	203—204. 287
κομπινεύω	235. 287
κονδριζόμενα	161
<i>kontaria</i>	290
<i>kontomanika</i>	221
Κορον	286
<i>kortē/κόρτη</i>	73. 165. 171—172. 247
<i>kortinarioi</i>	172. 251
<i>koubikoularios/-oi</i>	125. 141. 244. 268
<i>kouboukleion</i>	71. 125. 145. 149. 229. 244. 274. 284
<i>koukoumia</i>	208
<i>koukoumilion</i>	see latrine
<i>kouratōr/-ores</i>	55. 101. 192. 196
<i>kouratoreion</i>	71. 101. 103. 196
<i>kouratorikion</i>	101. 103
<i>krabbatos</i>	234
<i>kyaištōr/κυαιστωρ</i>	see <i>quaestor</i>
<i>kōmodromos</i>	259

L

<i>labara</i> (<i>laboura</i>)	145. 271—273. 288
<i>labourēsioi</i>	273

<i>lakkos</i>	227. 231
Langobardia	191
<i>lardin</i>	202
lasso	189
Latin	70. 71. 73
Latin (mis-spelling of loan-words, confusion of vowel-lengths)	73
latrine (travelling)	213. 227
Leo (Grammaticus)	58
Leo (Katakylas)	41. 42. 45—47. 49. 50. 52—54. 56. 61. 67. 69. 70. 72. 95. 178. 180—182
Leo (III)	42. 183
Leo (IV)	42. 183
Leo (V)	183. 287
Leo (VI)	46. 47. 54. 60. 61. 66. 70. 95. 176—177. 183. 190. 248. 269
λεπτόζηλος	see μεγαλόζηλος
Leontókōmē	190. 248
Leukatēs	115. 232—233
Λιβάδια, τὰ	276
<i>linomalōtaria</i>	214
λιτή (ecclesiastical)	282—283
λιτός (adj.)	206—207. 221. 270—271
loan-words	71. 74, n. 78
<i>logarion</i>	200
<i>logothesia</i>	233—234
<i>logothetēs (tou dromou)</i>	161. 184
<i>logothetēs (tōn agelōn)</i>	40. 85. 97. 99. 101. 161. 184. 189
<i>logothetēs (tou praitōriou)</i>	193
<i>logothetēs (tou stratiōtikou)</i>	52, n. 35
Lombardy	60
Lord (Church of the)	272. 273
<i>lōrikion</i>	97. 183
<i>lōrōta</i>	219. 230
Loulon	56. 133. 255
Lydia	101
Lykandos	190

M

Macedonia	135. 191. 256
Macedonian renaissance	74
<i>magarikon</i>	210
Maggana	55

<i>magister memoriae</i>	247
<i>magister officiorum</i>	192—193. 260. 266—267. 268
<i>magistrianoi</i>	139. 266
<i>magistri militum praesentales</i>	260
<i>magistros/-oi</i>	52, n. 35. 95. 97. 103. 113. 125. 127. 131. 141. 145. 147. 149. 162. 178. 181. 228. 233. 234. 284
<i>maiuma</i>	166. 251
Malagina	63. 81. 117. 119. 127. 129. 155. 161—162. 170. 233. 235—236
<i>mandata</i>	163
<i>mandatōr</i>	131. 151. 173. 253
<i>mandilia</i>	204
<i>maniakata</i>	220
<i>manikellia</i>	72. 289
<i>manikia</i>	see <i>maniakata</i>
<i>mantion</i>	260
Manuel (I)	287
<i>mapra</i>	273
Marcian	287
μασουρωτός	223
μάσσημα	199
Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία	see Great Church
μεγαλόζηλος	217—219
medicines	212—213
<i>melistai</i>	280
Melitēnē	54. 67. 248. 286. 293
<i>merarchēs</i>	123. 127. 166. 249—250
μερσίνη	74. 274
<i>mesalia</i>	204
<i>mesallagon</i>	263—264
Mesē	139. 141. 143. 145. 265. 266. 267. 282. 283. 290. 292
μεσόζηλος	see <i>μεγαλόζηλος</i>
Mesopotamia	190
μέταξα	see <i>blatta</i>
<i>mētātōrion</i>	283—284
Metropolitans/metropolitanates	101. 193—194
Michael (I)	183
Michael (II)	97. 183
Michael (III)	41. 56. 58—60. 97. 135. 182. 255
Michael (archāngel)	240—241
<i>mikropanitai</i>	280

<i>miliarēsion</i>	111. 113. 129. 145. 226. 284
Milion	145. 283. 290
<i>minsourakia</i>	228
<i>minsouratōr</i>	40. 71. 73. 85. 105. 107. 127. 160. 172. 204
<i>mitata</i>	97. 99. 101. 161. 184. 187. 189. 196. 252
<i>modios</i>	121. 129. 251
<i>moira</i>	174. 149
<i>mōlarion</i>	(see also pack-animals) 71. 184. 186
monasteries	101. 195
Mopsouestia	147. 285
Mother of God, Church of the	145
Mt. Argeas	133. 255
Mt. Kyrizos	133. 255
Mt. Moukilos	133. 255
Mt. Olympos	59. 133. 254
Mt. Samos	133. 255
Mt. St. Auxentios	133. 135. 254. 255
Mt. St. Mamas	254. 255
mules	see pack-animals
<i>murex</i>	see <i>blatta</i>
Muslims	65
<i>mutationes</i>	184
Myriokephalon	246
<i>mystikos</i>	170

N

Nea Ekklēsia	275
νεῦρον	203
Nicaean (Νιχαίνος)	133
Nicephorus (I)	164. 183
Nicephorus (II) Phocas	37. 51. 58. 67. 70. 245. 276
Nicephorus Phocas (the elder)	181
Nicephorus Uranus	46
Nika riot	292
Nikaia/Nicaea	233. 254
νικητικά (σάγια)	280
νικητικά (hymns)	281
Nikomedeia	233
Nikopolis	190
Nikolaos (I) (patriarch)	245
<i>nomismata</i>	99. 111. 113. 188
<i>notarioi</i>	184

<i>Noumera</i>	162. 286
Noumeros (<i>domestikos</i> of the N.)	99. 190
νωτοφύλακες	175

O

<i>officialis</i> (ὄφφικιάλιος)	101. 191. 196. 228. 254
οἰκούμενα, τὰ	157
οἰνάριν/οἶνος	202
οἶνοχόος	254
Olga of Russia	274
Onosander	54. 179
ὀπισθοφύλακες	49
Ὀνειροκρίτης	211
<i>Opsikianoi</i>	63
Opsikion	63. 129. 135. 155. 156. 252
<i>Optimatoi</i>	73. 115. 117. 119. 129. 190. 235
ὀρθομίλια	228
<i>Oriens</i> (praetorian prefecture)	256
ὄρναι	277
ὄχυρώματα	158

P, ps (ψ)

pack-animals	184—187. 195. 198. 235. 238—239. 251—252
<i>palati(o)n</i>	71. 73
<i>pantheōtai</i>	169
Paphlagonia	135. 171. 190
<i>parias</i>	160. 172
<i>parakoitōnarion</i>	227
<i>parakoitōmenos</i>	37, n. 8. 43, n. 19. 227. 245. 276
<i>paramērion</i>	214. 278
παραμοναί	173
παραμόνιμα	253
παρασυρόμενος	see pack-animals
<i>parataxis</i>	155
<i>parathalassitēs</i>	101. 192
παρεχάτερα	71, n. 68
<i>pasmagadion</i>	71. 196—197
παστοποιός	288
patriarch	145
<i>patrikios</i>	52, n. 35. 103. 113. 115. 125. 127. 131. 137. 145. 151. 181. 228. 247. 261—262. 281

Paulicians	65. 157. 268
πεδητοῦρα	241. 253
Pēgē, Church of the	276
Peloponnese	187. 191
πεντζιμέντα	231
Persian war	139. 269
περσίκια	225
Peter (the patrician)	57. 259
Peter (Tsar of Bulgaria)	67
<i>pigkernēs</i>	200
πιλωτά	205. 207
πλαγιοφύλακες	49
πλατυλίσκιον	71. 199
ποδόψελλα	279
Poleatikon (district)	139. 264
<i>politarchai</i>	292
<i>politeuma</i> /πολίτευμα	291
πολιτικά (ἱππάρια)	237—238
politikos (archōn)	159
Polyaenus	210
<i>polykandēla</i>	275. 288
<i>polyphōta</i>	288
πόρφυρα (see also <i>blatta</i>)	169
<i>rozza</i> /ρότζος	71. 199
πούλιπιτον	291
<i>Praecepta</i> (of Nicephorus II)	47. 70
<i>praepositi gregum</i>	186
<i>praepositus sacri cubiculi</i>	260—261. 268
praetorian prefect	203—204. 266
praetorian prefectures (Oriens, Illyricum)	256
<i>praetorium</i> / <i>praitōrion</i>	101. 137
<i>praipositoī</i>	113. 115. 125. 127. 145. 149. 228. 229. 274. 281. 283. 284
prayer, imperial	243
<i>primikērios</i>	107
Principate	260
<i>procuratores</i>	186
Prodromos, Church of the	see Baptist, Church of the
<i>proeleusimaiōi</i>	250
<i>proeleusis</i> /προέλευσις	168. 169
<i>prokenson</i> / <i>processus</i>	168—169. 289
<i>promosella</i>	194. 232. 240
<i>pronoia</i>	243
προπέλωμα	279
προσκυνῶ	242
<i>protiktōr</i> (<i>protector</i> / <i>protectores domestici</i>)	141. 268. 273

<i>prōtoasēkrētēs</i> (see also <i>dekanos</i>)	170
<i>prōtobandophoros</i>	257
<i>prōtodomestikos</i>	257
<i>prōtokagellarios</i>	257
<i>prōtokaraboi</i>	258
<i>prōtokentarchoi</i>	257
<i>prōtomagistros</i>	162
<i>prōtomandatōr</i>	257
<i>prōtonotarios/-oi</i>	89. 101. 103. 105. 117. 121. 123. 127. 129. 133. 160. 166. 167. 184. 192. 202. 208. 236. 244. 254
<i>prōtopatharioi</i>	125. 131. 149. 244. 254
<i>prōtostratōr</i>	131. 169. 253. 273
<i>prōtovestiarios</i>	40. 85. 105. 119. 125. 159— 160. 167. 192. 200. 244
ψευδοξέα	169. 224
Pseudo-Symeon	59
Pulcheria	287
πύργος (βασιλικός)	253
Pylai	59. 115. 117. 133. 135. 232— 233. 255
πυρομάχια	208

Q

<i>quaestor</i>	101. 191. 260
-----------------	---------------

R

ῥασικά (<i>rasus</i>)	197
reception (δοχή)	173. 242. 289. 292
ῥέτινα	199
<i>Rhetorica militaris</i>	47. 163
Rhegion	137. 259. 262
ῥηγία	see <i>Mesē</i>
ῥοδόβοτρυς	288
<i>rogai</i>	165. 256
Roman (era)	71
Rōmania/'Ρωμανία	72. 129. 133. 204. 252. 254
Romanos (I) Lekapenos	54. 62. 66. 177. 245. 248
Romanos (II)	41. 50. 52. 53. 56. 66. 68. 95. 177. 180
Rouphinianai (district)	139

S

<i>σάβανα</i>	214—215, 230—231
<i>sacopenium</i> (ήνιτζιν)	212
<i>sachar</i>	214
<i>sacrum cubiculum</i>	159. 261
Saggaros	115. 233
<i>sagion</i>	260. 280
<i>sagismata</i>	197
σάγμα	71. 160
σαγμάρι(ο)ν	71. 160
σαγματοπασμαγάδιον	71. 196. 197
<i>sagmosellia</i>	170
Saif ad-Daulah	67. 274
<i>saka</i>	49. 175
<i>sakellarios</i>	40. 41. 85. 101. 111. 145. 159. 160. 281
<i>sakellion</i>	101. 159. 192—193
<i>sakkia</i>	226
Samos	190
Samothrakē	73
<i>saphramentarios</i>	71. 117. 119. 161. 187—188. 235
Saracens	133. 135. 147
σαράκοντα/σαράντα	73. 237
Satyr (district)	139. 264
<i>Scholai</i>	59. 62. 63. 67. 125. 127. 137. 156. 164. 171. 181. 252. 259. 266
<i>scholarioi</i>	111. 121. 123. 129. 226. 241
<i>scrinium barbarorum</i>	192
<i>Scriptores post Theophanem</i>	58
Scutari	287
Sea of Marmara	262—264
Sebasteia	156. 171. 190. 248
<i>sekreta</i>	60. 234
Seleukeia	156. 171. 190. 248
σελιναΐα	189. 199
<i>sella</i>	170
<i>sellaria</i> /σελλάρια	48. 72. 170
<i>sellia</i>	213
Selymbria/Σηλύμβρια	73. 139. 263
σημεΐα	272—273
<i>sēmeiophoroi</i>	273
σημεντέτινος	280
σενδές	214. 275

<i>σένζον</i>	291
Septimius Severus	292
<i>sericoblatta</i>	see <i>blatta</i>
<i>sērikon</i> (σηρικόν)	see <i>blatta</i>
σεσαγματωμένα	194
σινδόνια	215
Σίγμα/Sigma	145. 282. 289
<i>signa</i> (banners)	245
<i>signophoros/-oi</i>	125. 245. 273
Sigrianē	41. 45. 46. 50. 95. 178. 180
<i>silentiarios</i>	137. 145. 229. 260—261. 274
σιτλολέκανον	71
σκαραμάγγια/ <i>skaramaggia</i>	109. 141. 143. 147. 216. 275
<i>skēptra</i>	145. 271—273. 288
σκεύη	272. 283
σκευοφορικά	273
<i>skeuophoroi</i>	273
σκορτζίδια	202
σκουτάριον/ <i>skoutarion/-a</i>	183. 241. 247
<i>skoutellia</i>	228
<i>skribones</i>	137
Σκυθικόν	208
Skyla	151
Slav	70
soldier saints	241
Solomon	95. 178—179
Sōzopetra	293
<i>spatharioi</i>	125. 247
<i>spathion</i> /σπαθί(ο)ν	71. 183
σπαθίν ζωστίκιν	278
σπαθοβακλιον	290
σφακτά/ <i>sphakta</i>	202
<i>sphigktouria</i>	222. 225. 230
spices	214
St. Auxentios (Mt.)	133. 135. 254. 255
St. Babylos	262
St. Dēmētrios	241
St. George	241
St. Mamas	59. 135. 147. 254. 255. 287
St. Merkourios	241
St. Mōkios	289—290
St. Prokopios	241
St. Sabinos	115. 233
Sts. Sergios and Bacchos	275
St. Stephen (of Daphnē), Church of	272
St. Theodore	241

<i>stablokomēs/-ites</i>	119. 127. 131. 237. 253
standards (imperial and military)	270—274
<i>stasion/stasidion</i>	287
Σταυρός	see Cross
<i>stephanoi</i>	266. 281
<i>sticharion</i>	288
Stratēgion (forum)	57. 139. 264
<i>stratēgika</i>	283
<i>stratēgos/-oi</i>	60. 85. 91. 99. 111. 123. 127. 135. 156. 166. 173. 190—191. 196. 235. 242. 249—250. 257. 286
<i>stratēgos</i> (of the <i>Anatolikoî</i>)	63. 64. 81. 99. 244
<i>stratēgos</i> (of the <i>Armeniakoî</i>)	81. 99
<i>stratēgos</i> (of the <i>Boukellarioî</i>)	81. 99
<i>stratēgos</i> (of Charsianon)	81
<i>stratēgos</i> (of Kappadokia)	81
<i>stratēgos</i> (of the <i>Opsikion</i>)	99
<i>stratēgos</i> (of Paphlagonia)	81
<i>stratēgos</i> (of Sebasteia)	81
<i>stratēgos</i> (of Seleukeia)	62. 64. 81. 99
<i>stratēgos</i> (of the <i>Thrakēsioî</i>)	81. 99
<i>stratēlatai</i>	121
<i>stratiōtikos/-on</i>	52, n. 35. 60. 159. 170. 236. 238
<i>stratopedon</i>	175
<i>stratores</i>	73. 89. 131. 169. 170. 253
<i>stratorikion</i>	170. 253
στρατοῦρα	189. 196
Strymōn	190
συγκλητικοί	262. 270
σύγκλητος	269—270
Symeon (<i>patrikios, prōtoasēkrētēs</i>)	52, n. 35
<i>symponos</i>	101. 193
<i>synēthiai</i>	187
<i>synōnē</i>	89. 168
syntax (medieval Greek)	72
<i>syntrophoi</i> /σύντροφοι	161. 170. 235. 237
Syria	52, n. 35. 66. 67. 72. 105. 119. 127. 131. 133. 252
Syrianos	210
<i>systemata</i>	162. 230. 279. 289

T

<i>Tactica</i> (of Leo VI)	70
τάγματα	198
<i>tagmata</i>	40. 59. 62. 63. 87. 89. 91. 125. 129. 147. 164. 166. 169. 171. 190. 235. 245. 252. 273. 286
<i>tagmatikoi</i>	220
ταξείδιον	74. 155
<i>taxiarchia</i> -ēs	249
<i>taxis</i> τάξις	155. 164
Tarsos	64, n. 57. 81. 133. 147. 157. 274. 275. 285. 286
Tauros	see Forum of Theodosius
<i>teichiotēs</i> (<i>komēs</i> or <i>domestikos</i> of the Walls)	99. 190
Tembrēs	129. 252. 255
Tephrikē	62. 64, n. 57. 81. 141. 157. 190. 248. 269
τεσσαράκοντα (σαράκοντα)	73
<i>thalassai</i>	222
<i>thema</i> - <i>ta</i> (see also under <i>thema</i> name [e.g. <i>Anatolikon</i>] and <i>stratēgos</i>)	40. 41. 56. 60. 62. 81. 87. 89. 91. 93. 115. 117. 121. 123. 125. 127. 129. 131. 135. 156. 166. 171. 242. 256—258
<i>thematikos</i>	159
Theodora	139. 265. 286
Theodosiakoi	250
Theodosiupolis	181
Theodosius (the Great)	42. 97. 183
Theodosius of Melitēnē	58
Theophanes (Confessor)	59
Theophilus (emperor)	57. 58. 97. 135. 147. 151. 241. 245. 274. 276. 285. 287. 289. 293
Thessaloniki	191
theriac (θηριάκη)	212
<i>thespisma</i>	56. 239
Thrace	63. 64. 135. 156. 171. 190. 256. 262
<i>Thrakēsion</i>	63. 64, n. 56. 135. 156. 171. 249—250. 257
<i>thriambeutalion</i> (θηριαμβευτάλιον)	268
<i>tiara</i>	288
titles, imperial	176—178. 182—183
titles, senatorial	270
<i>topotērēsia</i>	257. 258

<i>topotērētēs</i> (of the <i>Scholai</i>)	137
τουβία	221
τούλδον	71
<i>τουφά</i>	288
Τουρκικόν	208
<i>tourma</i>	248. 249
<i>tourmarchai</i>	111. 123. 127. 131. 135. 166. 249—250. 256—257
τραπέζιν	71
τριβλάττιον (see also <i>blatta</i>)	71. 73. 249
<i>tribounoi</i>	139
τριβούνος πραισεντάλιος	75. 259. 260—261. 262
<i>triklinion</i> of Justinian	145. 284
<i>triklinion</i> (low)	147
τρίμιτα	219. 220
τριτάγιν	239
Triton (district)	276
<i>triumphator</i> (see also <i>thriambeutalion</i>)	141
Trychina	101
Tsakonia	73
Tsar (Peter of Bulgaria)	67
Τυρέα	169
Turkic	70
<i>tzerga</i> /τζέργα (<i>čerge/čärgä</i>)	105. 208

V

Vatopedi	51
<i>vestiarion</i>	60. 101. 103. 105. 107. 113. 119. 131. 145. 191—192. 193. 199. 225. 252. 284
<i>Vigla</i> (see also <i>Arithmos</i>)	40. 49. 91. 121. 123. 129. 137. 164. 171. 240. 241. 252
<i>vigilia</i>	159. 240
Virgin, <i>bēma</i> dedicated to	241
Virgin, Church of the	141. 282
Virgin, veil of the	287
Virgin of the Pharos, Church of the	275

W

Walls, regiment of the (see also <i>teichiōtēs</i>)	162. 286
Walls (Theodosian)	268. 276. 287

X (ξ)

<i>xenalia</i>	193. 237. 251
ξένια	216
<i>xenodocheion</i>	233
Xērolophos	145. 282. 290

Z (ζ)

Zaoutzēs	181
Zeuxippos	151. 292
Zoē (empress)	245
<i>zygostatēs</i>	101. 192
ζυγοφλάσκιον	71

APPENDIX

In addition to the literature cited in the Notes, two further publications whose results I have not been able fully to take into account in the analysis of technical terms should be noted. The first deals with Byzantine weaponry and military equipment, arms and armour in particular: see T. KOLIAS, *Byzantinische Waffen. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Waffenkunde von den Anfängen bis zur lateinischen Eroberung (Byzantina Vindobonensia 17)*. Wien 1988. This was unfortunately not available to me until the bulk of the Notes had gone to press. KOLIAS' work provides a valuable analytical catalogue of the Byzantine military-technical vocabulary, which will supplement the information given in these Notes. Among the terms which may be found discussed in greater detail are the following: ἐπιλώρικον, ἐπιλωρίκιον, ζωστίκιον (σπαθίον), κάσσις/κασίδα, κέντουκλον, κλιβάνιον, λόγχη, λωρίκιον, μανικέλλια, παραμήριον, περικεφαλαία, ποδόψελλα, σκουτάριον, σπαθίον, σπαθοβακλίον, χειρομάνικον.

The second publication is still in preparation, but deals in great detail with Byzantine silk weaving and the technology of weaving in general, as well as with many of the technical terms connected with clothing and silks which appear in our text (C). I am especially grateful to its author, Dr. Anna MUTHESIUS (Cambridge), for much valuable discussion on these matters. Much of the commentary in the present volume dealing with these matters will undoubtedly need to be amended or modified in the light of Dr. MUTHESIUS' detailed research, and users of this edition who wish to pursue these items should refer to the forthcoming work, entitled "History of the Byzantine Silk Industry".

Finally, a suggestion regarding one item of technical vocabulary which I do not believe I have adequately been able to decipher, namely the term βδέλλιον. I should like to thank Dr. Ursula TREU (East Berlin), who has been most helpful in respect of the interpretation of a number of technical terms, for the suggestion that (following LSJ) "drops" or "droplets", rather than "hornets", provides a more satisfactory translation. βδέλλιον referred originally to

the gum or resin exuding from a certain plant. By derivation, it seems not unlikely that the droplets which this exudation formed gave rise to a secondary meaning of the term, and the one which is most likely to describe a woven decoration in our text (C).

Birmingham, January 1990